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India and World Islam

By SIR WILLIAM BARTON

The Sultans of Malaya

By ANDREW ROTH

Westminster and the East

By HAROLD DAVIES, M.P.

Chinese Films

By RALPH BOND

The Development of Indian Shipping

An Interview with
M. A. MASTER

ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE





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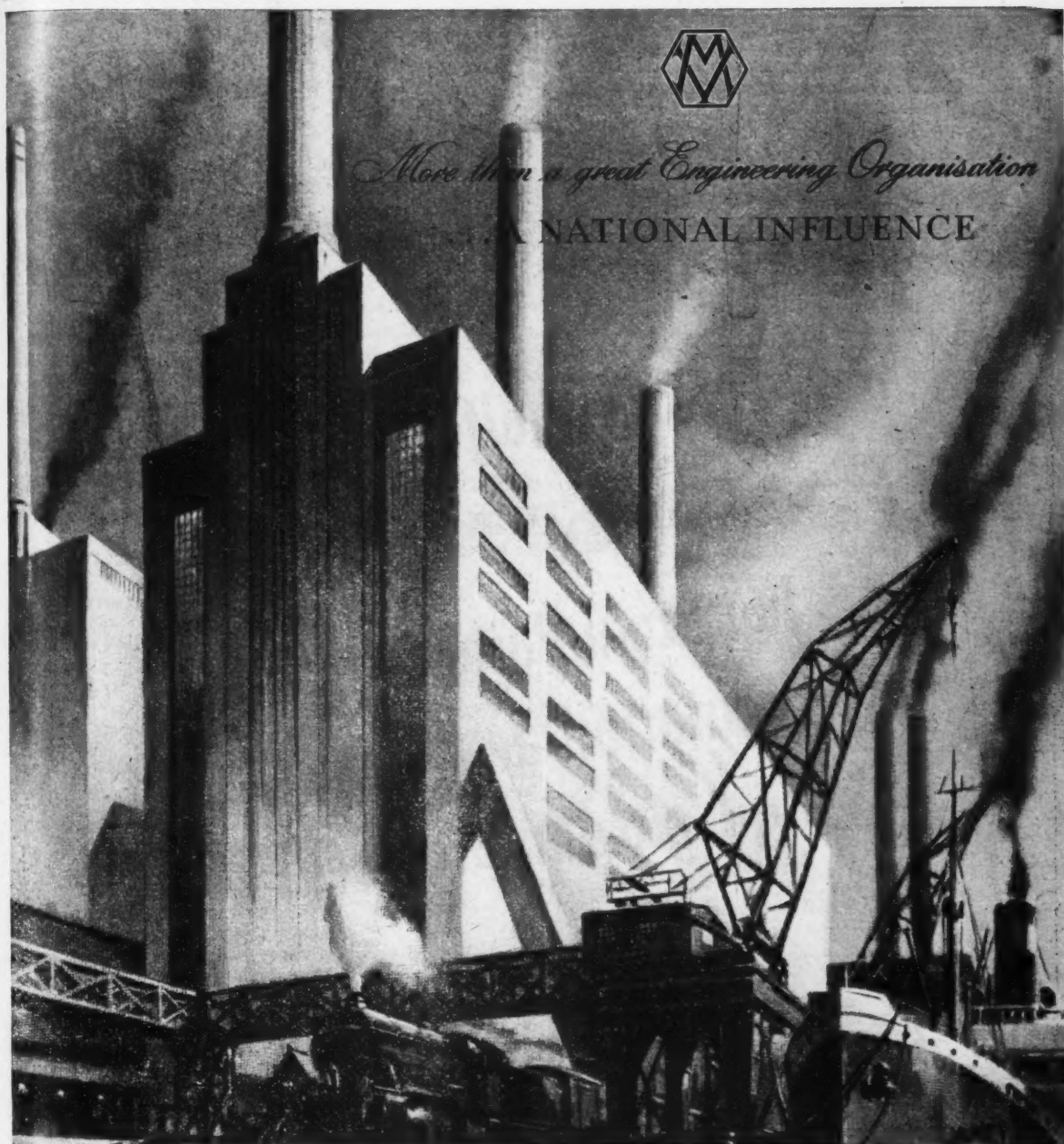
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Temple Steps at Jaipur.

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EASTERN WORLD

SAN FRANCISCO TALKS

Nobody is looking forward to the Japanese Peace Treaty talks which are to start in San Francisco on September 4, after having ruled Japan single-handed throughout the occupation, the United States suddenly feel that they should share at least some of the responsibility for the treaty and firmly stress the fact that the invitations to the talks are in the joint name of the United States and Great Britain. In London the reaction is not over-enthusiastic. Some sections of British trade are deeply suspicious of the terms of the draft treaty which may give Japan an opportunity of repeating her pre-war methods of cut-throat competition, and political circles fear that the purpose of the treaty will be nullified by the exclusion of China. Russia's surprising acceptance of the invitation seems to have caused more worries than satisfaction in Washington, where it is feared that Mr. Gromyko may lead a "wrecking crew" instead of a merely signatory delegation. The United States view is that, after eleven months of negotiations, everything has been satisfactorily prepared and that there is no need for further discussions. However, at the time of writing, it is doubtful whether India will commit herself to signing the treaty, and Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines are indignant that their substantial reparations claims are ignored. Above all, China's absence weakens the whole purpose of the signing of the treaty. Chou En-lai, China's Foreign Minister stated that the exclusion of his Government "can never be tolerated" and "will be opposed with determination." He again stated China's claims to Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. Finally, the draft treaty does not satisfy the Japanese either. A recent opinion poll indicates that only 8 per cent. of the people approve the treaty, while well over half the population is opposed to the retention of American forces in Japan after the treaty and to the lease of bases to the United States. About half the

Japanese people—according to the poll—would be willing to rearm, while large numbers of Japanese are antagonistic to anything which goes against their deeply cherished idea of remaining neutral in the present tension, and, if possible, in the future.

FOOD SHORTAGES IN INDIA

Although the food position in Bihar and Orissa has improved (see "From All Quarters," p. 20), the situation in Assam and West Bengal is causing great anxiety. Assam, which normally produces a surplus in food, is in desperate need of outside supplies in order to avert widespread starvation during the coming year. This area has not yet recovered from last year's earthquakes and floods, and this year, further devastation was caused by the flooding of the Brahmaputra and unseasonal drought. Breakdowns in communications and transport have cut off many districts but the worst problem is the feeding of the thousands of workers in Assam's tea gardens, the State Government has asked the Central Government for a monthly allotment of at least 19,000 tons of food grains for the next four months and also to assume responsibility for the feeding of workers in the tea gardens for the whole of next year. This would require about 10,000 tons of food a month. Hitherto Government supplies were insufficient and the balance had to be purchased in the open market. The tea industry representatives here proposed to Mr. Munshi, India's Food Minister, that direct allocations to the industry should combat black market activities and secure next year's food supplies.

In West Bengal, the situation is also serious, since this year's autumn rice crop is expected to be far below normal. One of the disastrous consequences of the Indo-Pakistan rift has been the replacing of food crops by jute, while at the same time, thousands of acres have remained uncultivated since their Moslem owners left for Pakistan. In addition, West Bengal's population has been increased by over one million refugees from East Bengal. Again, severe drought has caused the widespread loss of crops. The worst sufferers are those living in industrial areas, particularly in and around Calcutta.

Although the difficulties of the Indian Government are fully understood, since it cannot be denied that outside factors such as floods, drought, earthquakes and movements of population make careful planning almost impossible, and rationing difficult to implement, it does, nevertheless, appear that the methods used to combat famine are still not drastic enough. It is essential that black market activities should be severely suppressed and that a vigorous campaign against the hoarding and wastage of food should be carried out and all uncultivated land should be put to the plough. Such measures would greatly encourage help from abroad.

KOREA PRESENTS HER BILL

One of the most staggering, if faintly amusing events of last month was the announcement by Dr. Yang, South Korean Ambassador to the United States, that his Government intended to present bills to those United Nations countries that have troops fighting in Korea, to pay for goods and services that the South Koreans have put at their disposal during the war. At the same time, Dr. Yang submitted a request to the United States to pay "without delay" \$100 million for the same purpose. If one considers the expenses the United Nations countries involved had to undergo to save the South Korean Republic, and that the U.S. paid for practically everything completed or now carried out by the South Korean Government, this demand for additional payments is somewhat surprising. American reaction to this step is divided and not wholly favourable, but the report that the State department was in favour of immediate payment of the sum, makes one speculate as to whether the whole move has not been inspired in Washington, partly to give the South Koreans a vestige of independence, and partly to give an incentive to other nations to participate in the maintenance costs of the South Korean Government.

Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial, opinions are being published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of the paper.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By HAROLD DAVIES, M.P.

DURING our sittings just before the Recess one could sense a tired frustration on all sides when events in Korea or Persia came up at Question Time. Some Members wondered whether the delays and stalemate at Kaesong and over the Persian Oil Dispute would mean that we would be recalled. On the day before the Recess, I found a group of M.P.'s discussing the colossal task ahead of the United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency. This Agency has not started any real work in South Korea and it was thought that if the West is to wipe out the memory of the desolation of millions of refugees and homeless in Korea it must start now to rebuild Korea's economy. We wondered if the 250 million dollars to be made available by the U.N. in the first year would be enough. Aid would have to be given to North Korea too if ever the United Nations were to have a United Korea.

In the last week their Lordships' House sat after eleven-o'clock at night. This is something quite unusual for the Lords and an indication of the importance they attach to the vital problems of Foreign Affairs. Viscount Elibank was critical of the way that the Japanese Treaty was put over to us on the radio by a member of the United States Government and he wondered what would have happened if a British Secretary of State attempted to put over a Treaty to the people of the United States before they had heard of it from their Government.

He felt that the Peace Treaty had been rushed and declared that had it been submitted to either House for revision the Treaty would have been "revised drastically in many ways." The Viscount found the military clauses most extraordinary, leaving Japan in a position to rearm at will. Later in his speech he warned the Lords that an operative clause in the Treaty of Friendship signed in February, 1950 between the Chinese Central Government and the Soviets stated that they would resist renewal of Japanese imperialism or attempts to rearm Japan. He made the point that the strategic situation in the Far East would be affected by the fact that under the Sino-Soviet Treaty Russia undertakes to move out of Port Arthur in 1952.

Lord Strabolgi, on the other hand, in the main welcomed the Treaty, but believed that if Japan really wanted to do something towards renewing our former friendship, one thing would be for the Japanese Government to make a voluntary addition to the sum to be divided among former prisoners of war. Strabolgi thought that the answer to Japanese competition is greater efficiency and enterprise on the part of those who may be frightened by it. But Members of the Commons did not see this issue to be as simple as that.

The Pottery M.P.'s, led by Mr. Ellis Smith (Labour) took advantage of the Debate on the second Reading of the Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill to raise again the terms of the Draft Peace Treaty. Mr. Smith complained that the Japanese were already copying pottery ideas and designs. He asked that the Treaty be held up for a short time, "until the industrial representatives of all sections

of the pottery industry, and the cotton and silk industries get a fair wages and conditions clause written into the Peace Treaty to safeguard our standards as far as possible." In the Lobbies I found Conservative and Labour Members who feared unfair competition as of the "threadbare thirties". Many feel that Japan will not be able to apply normal trading methods if the vast Chinese market is closed to her.

When Mr. Churchill returns to this country in September, the Conservatives will get down to the task of working out a Programme for the election. Both the great parties have a difficult task ahead of them. Attractive Party Programmes, if honest, will be difficult in a world that seems daily to be developing a system of *Wehrwirtschaft*. Mr. Churchill was one of the first to acknowledge the realities of the position of the New China. He was not averse to a form of recognition, but the American attitude to Chiang Kai-shek and the Korean War may now mean that he will shift his position and accept that of the Americans in relation to Chiang and Formosa. Would this lead to a completely different approach by Labour and Conservatives to Far Eastern Policy?

Some of us have noted in the Recess that Mr. Rusk, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, discussed with the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committee proposals for aid to Chiang Kai-shek. An amount of 217 million dollars for arms and 90 million for economic aid is suggested for Nationalist China. Members here, with whom I have debated this proposal see some significance in the fact that this aid, which is to come out of the 555 million dollars earmarked for the whole of Asia, should come up for discussion just before the signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty at San Francisco.

The United States Information Service regularly send a copy of *Labour News from the United States* to Members. While the material does not reflect the views of the U.S. Government it does indicate the trend of American Labour and Industry. A recent issue quoted the views of C.I.O. which while backing economic and military aid abroad urged "that greater emphasis be placed on non-military aspects". John Brophy of C.I.O. is quoted as saying to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives that, "simply granting military aid to the governments in power will not be enough to stop Communism... The working people must actually have a way of life that they feel is worth defending against Communist aggression". He urged that American foreign policy be dedicated to positive and constructive goals. "Military aid must not be used simply to bolster reactionary regimes in power. Economic aid must reach the rank and file of the workers and farmers. We would indeed be pouring American money down a bottomless pit unless we see that our aid does improve the standard of living of those people". This voices the opinion of many of us in Parliament too. With Lin Yu-tang we must realise that "Asia is too big to spank".

INDIA AND WORLD ISLAM

By SIR WILLIAM BARTON

FOR a quarter of a century from its inception eighty years ago, the Indian Congress stood for moderate constitutional reform. Hindu Congressmen welcomed Muslim support, and the democracy they had in view would have found an honourable place for the Muslim minority.

The extremist Left Wing had different views. In 1907 it split the Congress, and after the first world war it gained complete control of the party. It soon appeared that memories of seven centuries of Muslim domination still rankled in the Hindu mind: in the new India the rôles must be reversed; Muslims must accept Hindu majority rule.

The Muslim League took up the challenge. For its leaders the only effective retort to Hindu intransigence was to demand a separate country for the Muslims. They made it clear that Indian independence based on Hindu majority rule would mean civil war. Partition was the only alternative.

This Congress accepted reluctantly. But Indian politicians had not forgotten the storms of Muslim invasions from the North-West that had swept the country at intervals from the eleventh century till the British made the North-West frontier secure. With a Muslim bloc, including most of the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, with Afghanistan probably in support, there might be a revival of the age-old danger. To meet it Hindu politicians would split the bloc by securing control of the North-West Frontier. A point in favour of such a plan was that there were no racial or cultural affinities between the Frontier Pathans and the Punjabi Mussalman: there was no link but Islam. Moreover, anti-British feeling would help to create a favourable atmosphere for Congress intrigue. To deny the Frontier to it would effectively clip the wings of the new Muslim State.

A revolutionary movement started in the Frontier Province in the thirties by a group known as the Red Shirts, gave Congress its opportunity. It did everything possible to encourage the movement and so successfully that when the party returned to power in 1946 it was able to set up in the Frontier Province a Congress coalition government with the support of half a dozen Sikhs and Hindus. This gave colour to the Congress claim that on partition the province should go to India.

The Muslim League saw the danger and countered it by demanding a plebiscite which His Majesty's Government conceded. The result was a verdict for Pakistan.

India refused to accept defeat. A fresh opportunity of confounding her Muslim rival soon occurred. Now the Frontier people had never felt any affection for Delhi: Kabul was always their spiritual home. Kabul itself had always regarded the country between the Durand line (the one great imperial frontier of the Commonwealth) and the Indus, as *Afghanistan irredenta*, a limb amputated from the Afghan body

politic. With the withdrawal of the British military might from that troubled borderland the Afghan ruling group felt they had a strong case for its re-absorption into their country. They did not go so far as to demand its annexation to Afghanistan. What they claimed was that it should be given an independent status to be designated Pukhtunistan. It is hardly necessary to comment that this would have meant ultimate absorption in the Afghan kingdom. In either case the Frontier would have been denied to Pakistan, exactly what India wanted.

Pakistan naturally rejected the Kabul proposition. The Afghan Government has however, continued to press it. Support was forthcoming from the Red Shirts, and the Pakistan Government found it necessary to take strong action including the internment of their leader, Abdul Ghaffar. Indian politicians have throughout given the Afghans moral support, and so has the Delhi press. No official objection was taken to a gathering in Delhi of Afghan malcontents from the Frontier at which intransigence of Pakistan was strongly attacked. The Afghan Ambassador at Delhi on several occasions has gone out of his way to put the Afghan case before the Indian public. As evidence of their anxiety to attract Afghan goodwill one may note that Delhi politicians have surprisingly enough discovered cultural affinities between Hindu and Afghan: Kabul has responded by instituting a chair for Sanscrit study in the Kabul university. A treaty of friendship has been concluded between the two countries. A month or so ago a leading Minister of the Central Government at Delhi rather unguardedly described Indo-Afghan relations as "a pincer movement for peace." The obvious inference is that this painful process was destined for Pakistan in case of trouble.

Not unnaturally, public opinion in Karachi resents the partiality shown by India for Afghanistan obviously, it is thought, with ulterior motives unfriendly to her neighbour. Muslim world opinion supports this view of the position, and Pakistan is not alone in denouncing the Indo-Afghan *entente*.

Her coquetting with Kabul to the detriment of Pakistan has indeed discredited India with the Muslim world generally, and her attitude towards the Kashmir problem even more so. Almost every Muslim country from Indonesia to the Atlantic, including Turkey, has strongly condemned her refusal to agree to a free plebiscite. A clash between Hindu and Muslim in the sub-continent over the Kashmir issue would raise a storm of protest from Muslims everywhere. Popular opinion would in many cases demand that all possible material support should be given to Pakistan in the unequal struggle in which she would be involved. In point of fact, the outbreak of hostilities between the two protagonists would have world-wide repercussions even if it did not lead to a third world war.

Here one may comment that the loyalty of Pakistan to the Commonwealth has been strained by what Karachi considers the reluctance of Whitehall to bring pressure to bear on the Afghan Government and so to induce it to drop its claim to Pukhunistan. It is felt too that much more might have been done through British influence at Lake Success to prompt the Security Council to take a stronger line in the Kashmir dispute. The Pakistan Government has no desire to bring about a rupture from the Commonwealth but the pressure of public opinion might compel it to give way if a decision should seem hopeless. It is significant that Russian propaganda, till recently supporting Kabul in the Pukhunistan movement is now veering round in favour of Pakistan. A break away from the Commonwealth would probably throw Pakistan into the arms of the Kremlin. Has Indian statesmanship considered what this might involve?

When India gained her independence she looked proudly forward to assuming the leadership of Asia. That dream has vanished and she now stands practically alone. What a disappointment for Whitehall which not unnaturally cherished hopes that the new India would play a prominent part in ensuring peace in Asia.

In any case whom was she to lead? Are there not two Asias, the yellow world and the rest? Could India at any time be expected to draw China and Japan or Indo-China into her orbit? Siam leans on the West; Indonesia, Muslim in complexion, is gravitating towards Pakistan; Burma has never liked Indians. India in point of fact, has closer affinities with the West through Persia and Asia Minor than with the Far East. Muslim countries would not in any case look to her for leadership; her influence with them might have counted for much if she had been in close relations of friendship with the greatest Muslim state, Pakistan. The Muslim world is growing in strength and cohesion, and its friendship and support might one day stand India in good stead.

A new era would dawn if friendly relations were established between the two Commonwealth members. It should not be forgotten that nearly forty million Muslims have their homes in India. In the prevailing tension they live in fear of an overwhelming outbreak

of Hindu fanaticism should war result. There is little doubt that there would in that event be a frightful holocaust. As things are the great Muslim community in India, almost equal in numbers to the population of France, are little better than political outcasts. Only with peace and a friendly alliance between Pakistan and India would they feel themselves to be citizens of the new Dominion. Their loyal support would be of immense value to the Indian Government not only as a stable element in its policy, but as a barrier against communism. It is hardly necessary to note that the Hindu minority of fifteen millions in Pakistan (mostly in East Bengal) are in a state of panic similar to that of the Muslims in India.

Another advantage that would follow the sweeping away of the war clouds is the possibility of India reducing her military budget by half, £70 millions or so, without being militarily weaker as would be the case if she were in alliance with Pakistan. This would give her funds for economic development failing which there is danger of internal trouble. Pakistan would benefit in like manner.

What path will India choose in the crisis that faces her? Her country is of immense importance in world strategy. Can she, while her quarrel with Pakistan remains undecided, stand up to the dangers that threaten her? The hand of the Kremlin is seen in what looks like insurrection in Assam on the Chinese border; insurgent communism still holds much of South East Hyderabad in its grip; communism is militant in Burma and Malaya; Tibet is communist-controlled; political troubles have weakened Nepal as a barrier against a communist thrust. With all this what would India's position be if war broke out in the Middle East? Alone she could not hold up an attack from the North. Together with Pakistan she might meet, or perhaps ward off, the threat of invasion. She can have the friendship and support of that country and, indeed, of the Muslim world generally, if she could bring herself to allow what impartial friends of both Dominions would consider a fair plebiscite in Kashmir. An ultimate settlement may mean sacrifice on both sides, but surely that is worth while.

THE SULTANS OF MALAYA

By ANDREW ROTH

IN three years of fighting a small minority of insurgent Communists, it has become clear to the British authorities in Malaya that nationalism is the most effective counter to communism. With the aid of conciliatory elements in the Malay, Chinese and Indian communities, Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner-General for South-East Asia, has been searching for a formula for a "safe nationalism." This can be defined as one which is sufficiently anti-Communist without being too anti-British. But every attempt to synthesize its

peoples into a united Malayan nation comes up against the resistance of the rural Malays, who fear being swamped by the hard-working communities of Chinese and Indian origin which, taken together, outnumber the Malays.

The strength of Malay feeling on the subject of admitting Malaysians of Chinese or Indian origin to full citizenship was made clear to this writer during an interview with the Sultan of Kedah, who quoted with amused approval, the old saw that "Malaya is a Malay country,

worked by the Chinese for the benefit of the British." The Sultan was quite clear in his determination to prevent the swamping of the easy-going Malays by the hard-working, highly-competitive Chinese and Indians. He described the origin of differences in working habits, explaining that the Chinese and Indians come from overcrowded countries where one has to work hard to survive, whilst fruitful, but thinly populated Malaya has demanded less arduous labour, and therefore the Malays are more easy-going. The Sultan pointed out that if Britain or France protect their living standards by limiting immigrants, he saw no reason why the Malays, who are not as well protected by trade unions, should not do the same. He did not, of course, mention the fact that many of the Malays, too, are actually recently-assimilated immigrants from Indonesia. The official 1947 census states that "the Malays themselves are, to a large extent, descended from the Malays of the East Coast of Sumatra from whom . . . they are ethnographically indistinguishable." He did admit that one of the principle reasons for the failure of the Chinese and Indians to be absorbed has been the official toleration of separate Chinese and Indian schools, which teach in Chinese and Tamil instead of Malay, which is the *lingua franca* of the peninsula.

Although he later repudiated it, he expressed his determination to oppose the recently introduced bills to provide a new "state nationality" and an over-all "federal citizenship" in Malaya. This would enable persons of Chinese or Indian origin, born in his state, to become citizens if they speak Malay or English, swear allegiance to him, and conform to an undefined Malayan "way of life". People designated as Malays, which means in effect Malay-speaking Muslims who are subjects of the Sultans, are automatically citizens.

The Sultan expressed the opinion that the non-Malays are not really interested in politics or citizenship, but merely in earning money. He left unexpressed the fear that if they secure citizenship they can, with their greater economic power, push the Malays into a secondary place in internal politics. This is clear from the statistics. Malaya comprises nine states headed by British-protected Sultans and the three colonies of Singapore, Penang and Malacca. The Federation of Malaya includes all these except 77%—Chinese Singapore, whose inclusion would have made the Chinese the largest population group in Malaya with 45% of the total. Even without Singapore, the Malays are a minority of 44% of the Federation of Malaya. The Chinese make up 38%, Indians and Pakistanis 10%, Indonesians 5%.

The striking fact is that the Malays are not only a minority of 45% of the total population of the Federation, but are only a bare majority of 56% of the inhabitants born in Malaya. Although the Chinese and Indian communities are frequently referred to as "aliens" the fact is that 64% of the Chinese and 52% of the Indians in Malaya are Malaya-born. Until now the Malays have kept their predominance by being the only "first-class" citizens in the Malay States. They are born as citizens, while



The Sultan of Kedah.

[By courtesy of the Malayan Information Agency.]

the non-Malays have to apply and demonstrate their fitness. Because of this, of the 3,100,000 Federation citizens registered on January 31 of this year 78% were Malays, 12% Chinese and 7% Indians. Even with the more liberal "federal citizenship" bill now under consideration, non-Malays are still considered "second-class" citizens and their spokesmen are very articulate in resenting it.

Malaya's thick jungle helps to shroud the Communists. But the resentment of Malayan Chinese and Indians against their "second-class" status also plays a vital role in slowing the pace of the anti-Communist war. The Communists, dependent on squatters and rubber-tappers for food and funds, frequently establish a jungle hideout within easy access of a large rubber plantation employing Indian labour or a village of squatter-farmers of Chinese origin. In some cases the Communist guerilla leaders were labour leaders in the area before they took to the jungle in 1948. The local authorities are usually British, the troops British, Gurkha or Malay and the police predominantly Malay. Much has been made of the undeniable fact that the Communists use threats to secure provisions and funds and shoot people to enforce their threats. But the reluctance of the squatters and rubber tappers to co-operate with the authorities does not come from fear

alone. It comes also from the feeling that it is not *their* state that is threatened. They feel themselves to be merely innocent bystanders in a bitter fight between an armed Communist minority—who happen to be mostly of the same national origin—and the armed authorities of the state in which they reside but of which they are not citizens. The result is that the average squatter or rubber-tapper tries to stay out of trouble and—if necessary—collaborates with whichever side is nearest and strongest at the moment.

This type of "fence-sitting" has been the chief political target of the authorities in Malaya. From the outset they have attacked it by punitive means. Thus, from 1948 a squatter could be jailed for two years if it could be demonstrated that he must have known about a Communist camp nearby and did not inform the authorities. More recently regulations have been promulgated to prevent food and medicines being passed to the guerrillas. Tappers are not allowed to eat in the fields. Food trucks are not allowed to drive by night or stop outside towns. Foodshops can feed only those showing identity cards.

The removal, planned to be finished this year, of some 500,000 squatters, has the objective of making fence-sitting more difficult and of showing that supporting the government has advantages. Squatter-farmers are moved into areas where they are not only under police supervision but where, for the first time, they can actually own the land they work and receive the benefits of education and health services.

The British authorities have also recently attempted to give Malaysians a sense of participation by establishing a type of cabinet to which the Malaysians have been appointed in charge of certain portfolios. These are purely appointive posts, on top of a purely appointive Federal Legislative Council. Pressed for an elected Legislative Council, officials explain that elections under present citizenship conditions would give too much representation to the Malays, all of whom are citizens and can vote, and not enough to those of Chinese and Indian origin, few of whom are now accepted as citizens.

The dangers of the lack of identification with Malaya felt by young Malaysians of Chinese origin was most strikingly shown earlier this year when it was announced that there would be selective conscription of Malayan youths. Immediately almost 20,000 youths of Chinese origin, most of them Malaya-born, decided they had to visit China. They apparently preferred to risk having to "volunteer" in China, which accepts them automatically as citizens, to risking being conscripted to fight for a country which does not, even if they were born there.

The British authorities in Malaya have realised with increasing sharpness, that relying on the support of the Malays is not enough. As early as 1949 Mr. Malcolm MacDonald and Sir Henry Gurney, the High Commissioner, began working on the assumption that Malaya required a "safe nationalism"

embracing all communities. They realised that a national ideal is required to win the loyalty of all residing in Malaya, particularly those who tend to be neutral in the conflict with Communism. But a "slow-motion nationalism" was desirable in order not to endanger Britain's valuable economic stake in the peninsula. The decision was apparently taken to knit together the conservative communal groups, apparently in the hope that a formula might emerge whereby Britain would remain as the balance wheel in Malayan nationalism.

The first meeting of the Communities Liaison Conference was convened in 1949 at Bukit Serene, the High Commissioner's residence, with Mr. MacDonald himself in the chair. Progress has been rather slow because each communal leader has thought largely in terms of defending the interests of his community. Thus, the definition of Malayan nationality worked out for the pending state nationality bill is a compromise between the Malay fear of being swamped by the Chinese and the Chinese desire for equal status. It was considered an achievement that early this year the three leading communal organisations (United Malays National Organisation, the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress) decided to admit members of other communities to associate membership in their organisations.

The most dramatic change in the communal picture has been the sudden declaration of Dato Onn bin Jafa'ar that he intends to establish an "Independence for Malaya Party" to achieve dominion status by 1958. In coming forward as the leader of such an independence movement Dato Onn has rejected his own past as a Malay communal leader. As head of the United Malays National Organisation he led the Malay agitation in 1946 against the Malayan Union agreement which would have reduced the Sultans to pure figureheads; but now he himself proposes doing the same thing by abolishing the federation and establishing a unitary state. Until recently he was against linking Singapore—which he referred to contemptuously as "Chinatown"—to the Federation. But now he supports this union.

Some have suggested that the mercurial Dato Onn, now Home Member in the semi-Cabinet of the Federation, hopes to be the Premier of a Malayan dominion and knows he needs to add the support of Malayan Chinese to his own influence among the Malays. Others see behind this move the desire of Sir Henry Gurney and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald to have a safe nationalism to compete with Communism. Whatever the reason for this development the long-drawn-out battle in Malaya has demonstrated that many Malaysians, and not only those of Chinese and Indian fighting in defence of their own homeland. Dato Onn origin, will only fight wholeheartedly if they feel they are has come to realise this and now holds out a vision of an independent Malaya which democratically accepts all its loyal residents as citizens.

PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN CEYLON

By V. RAJ. KARUNA

ONE of the most notable changes in party alignment since Ceylon became an independent Dominion in February, 1948, has been caused by the recent resignation from the Cabinet of the Leader of the House and Minister of Health, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, and the decision of his party—the Sinhala Maha Sabha—to break away from the United National Party, the party in power. This change will not be important for its immediate effects since the U.N.P. still commands a majority in the house, having 55 members as against 45 for all the opposition parties, including the new dissident party, but it is likely to have repercussions in the general elections that are due to be held some time next year.

The decision to sever connection with the U.N.P. was apparently taken as a result of the refusal of the Premier, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, to accept certain resolutions recently passed by the Sinhala Maha Sabha (a communal party representing a small section of the Sinhalese). The resignation of Mr. Bandaranaike has not, however, been followed by all those members of his party who hold office—one of whom, Mr. Ratnayake, is Minister of Food and likely to continue in that post. In fact, out of a possible ten or more parliamentary members of the S.M.S., only five have actually crossed the floor of the House with their leader. This paradox is to be explained largely by the fact that politics in Ceylon today are still to a great extent centred round individuals and not clearly defined on the basis of party principles. The ostensible cause for the split as given in Mr. Bandaranaike's speech in Parliament was that the U.N.P. had failed "in the glorious opportunity of solving many of the serious social, cultural and economic problems that faced Ceylon after she attained independence." These differences, insofar as they have for the last three or four years been publicly ventilated by the S.M.S., referred to the refusal of the present government to make Buddhism the State religion, Sinhalese the official language of the country and to introduce a regime of prohibition. On economic policy there has been no substantial difference of opinion, as the interests of both parties are fundamentally the same. The generally well-accepted reason for the break-away, however, is that the differences were primarily on the personal level and that Mr. Bandaranaike, who as Leader of the House was once considered the legitimate heir to the Premiership, now finds that Mr. Senanayake's early resignation is uncertain and that in any event the path via the party line of succession is not likely to be uncontested. In the circumstances, Mr. Bandaranaike seems to prefer facing new elections as the head of an independent party so as to be able to bargain more effectively with those other parties

which may be prepared to support him. In his statement to Parliament subsequent to his resignation he expressed the desire to do his duty "in whatever capacity it will be possible . . . to do it best, whether it be as Prime Minister of this country or equally gladly out of Parliament."

The opposition parties as now constituted are Independents, 9; Ceylon Indian Congress, 7; Trotskyites (two parties), 14; Communist Party, 3; other small parties, 6, and Mr. Bandaranaike's bloc, 6. Whilst on occasion all the old opposition parties have acted jointly against the government, their aims and policies are so divergent that even if they were able to secure a majority to vote the government out of office they could hardly ever be expected to unite in opposition. In their weakness lies the strength of the U.N.P., which also counts among its members representatives of various special interests and communities held together only by the prospect of holding office, an increasingly strict party discipline and a growing fear of the strength of the Communist Parties. The Communist parties are the only ones which may be said to have a fairly strict party affiliation based on an accepted political doctrine. Indeed, they have gone to the other extreme and defined party principles so strictly that not only have the Trotskyites broken rank with the Communists, but they have even fallen out among themselves. In reality these differences have sprung chiefly from the rivalry between factions for party leadership which oddly enough is provided not by the "workers" themselves, but from members of the "intelligentsia" who have graduated in London and Cambridge Universities! While generally at loggerheads with each other, especially outside Parliament, the Communist parties have been able on a few occasions to present a common front and it is not impossible that in order to get the U.N.P. out of office they might even agree to act under the leadership of Mr. Bandaranaike, despite the wide gap between themselves and the S.M.S. on the political level. The Ceylon Indian Congress Party (representing Indian immigrant labour) and in opposition to the government in view of its attitude towards granting them Ceylonese citizenship, can also be expected to act with the Communists though they will be strongly opposed to any affiliation with the S.M.S. which, as a communal party, is anti-Indian in its outlook.

The recent resignation has caused much speculation in Ceylon as to possible developments in the forthcoming elections. The U.N.P., nervous of its chances of success, some months ago recalled to Ceylon Sir O. E. Goonetilleke, former High Commissioner in London and the party's ablest "politico" to be Minister of Home Affairs with a seat in the Senate. Sir Oliver, who has a reputation for

winning over dissatisfied elements, will between now and election time be largely responsible for the task of ensuring his party's success at the polls. On him will devolve the duties of bringing over to the government side certain borderline members of the opposition, of endeavouring to improve the government's relations with the public services—strained since the strike among clerical servants in 1947—and of tackling the problems of the housing shortage and rising prices which have seriously affected the standard of living of the lower and middle class groups.

The Communists are confident of winning more seats, partly because Communist propaganda is far more attractive than U.N.P. propaganda, and partly because the U.N.P., despite a progressive development policy, has not been able to tackle effectively some of the more immediate post-war problems facing Ceylon. Besides, as in India, independence which was expected to herald the dawn of a new era has brought with it little change. The majority parties, such as the Ceylon Tamil Congress and the Ceylon Muslims, are likely to be returned as before on

a communal rather than a political basis and there will possibly be a fair number of independents, though the increasing efficiency of party machines is tending to reduce their number.

Despite the importance of such factors as family, caste, community, religion, as well as purely personal considerations, which in the past and even today weigh heavily with an electorate which is largely illiterate, the tradition of democratic action through elections (held regularly in Ceylon on the basis of universal adult suffrage since 1931) is tending gradually to cut across such issues. The U.N.P., if it is to secure a majority to meet the challenge of the Communist parties, realises that it will now have to go to the country on a purely political ticket and in new elections political issues are certain to receive far more attention than heretofore. Political education through the use of the vote is indeed helping to obliterate divisions based on local and incidental factors and to substitute a sounder basis for party politics.

SINGAPORE BECOMES A CITY

By R. M. McKINNON

WITH effect from September 22 the King has ordained that the Town of Singapore is to be raised to the status and dignity of a city and shall from that date be called and styled "The City of Singapore." By this act well over a century of some of the most remarkable progress in colonial history has been consummated; progress which has transformed an almost uninhabited waste into one of the world's first ten ports supporting over one million people from all corners of the earth. In being granted city status, Singapore becomes the thirteenth capital in the Colonial Empire to receive that honour.

The rise of Singapore to an eminence which has at last been officially recognised is by no means to be explained merely by luck or by geography. What the Colony has achieved is indeed largely the result of the constructive forces that are so often released when Chinese energy and commercial aptitude are combined with the administrative and technical skill of the British. It is from this blend that Singapore derives the qualities that have enabled it to emerge successfully from the worst blows of fate and in particular from the shattering effects of the Japanese occupation.

The modern history of Singapore dates from the evening of January 28, 1819, and, more closely than any other territory perhaps, has followed since the destiny foreseen by its founder, Thomas Stamford Raffles. On that date Raffles, accompanied by another Englishman and a Sepoy guard, made his way through the old Strait of Singapore, (whose western entrance had long been known to mariners as Dragon Teeth Gate) and landed on the island with the object of founding a trading

station there. Through his researches, Raffles had learned of the forgotten past of the Island where under the name of Singapura—"The Lion City," a prosperous commercial centre had flourished during the 13th and 14th centuries until it was destroyed by the Javanese about the year 1377. Raffles' imaginative power led him to foresee a new Singapore of immense strategic and commercial value lying at the crossroads of the East. Five years after Raffles landed, a treaty was negotiated with the Sultan of Johore by which the whole of the Island of Singapore was bought outright and came under the control of the East India Company. Raffles, meanwhile, had returned to England in 1823 but not before he had endowed Singapore with a magistracy, a code of laws and a police force, trading regulations and a town-planning scheme providing for a harbour destined to become one of the largest in the world. By 1851 Singapore and the neighbouring Settlements of Penang and Malacca had come under the direct control of the Governor-General in India but this form of government was never popular. Finally, in 1867, the Settlements were constituted a Crown Colony and control passed to the Colonial Office. This administrative set-up lasted until World War II. After the Japanese occupation, by an Ordinance of March 1946, the Island of Singapore together with Christmas and the Cocos-Keeling Islands in the Indian Ocean were created a Crown Colony. Though now politically separate from the Malayan mainland, co-operation between the two territories remains as close as ever, and Singapore continues to handle over half Malaya's overseas trade. Symbolising this interdependence is the causeway across the old Straits linking the

island with the rest of the Peninsula.

With the development of trade and commerce, immigrants were attracted to Singapore from all parts of Asia, and the population grew rapidly. In 1824, when the first census was taken, the number of inhabitants was 10,683, and by 1860 the total had increased to 81,734. Thereafter, with the establishment of the rubber industry in South-East Asia, the population increased at an even faster rate, and by the time of the 1921 census numbered 420,004, of whom 315,877 were Chinese. The steady upward trend continued between the wars, with the predominance of Chinese becoming more and more marked. At the time of the 1947 Malayan census the population of Singapore numbered 940,824, including 730,133 Chinese, since when the million mark has been passed. An official estimate for the end of 1950 put the total population of the island at 1,032,033, including 800,456 Chinese. The rest of the population comprised 125,259 Malays and other Malaysians, 74,470 Indians and Pakistanis, 12,223 Europeans, 10,271 Eurasians and 9,354 other races. The distribution of this population can be gauged from the fact that over 700,000 were living in the municipal area covering only 31 square miles of the island's 712 square miles. Actual numbers apart, the most significant demographic feature of recent years has been the change in the sex ratio of the Chinese community. Between 1921 and 1947 the number of Chinese females per thousand Chinese males rose from 489 to 819 revealing a growing tendency among the Chinese immigrants to make Singapore their permanent home and not just a place where a living can be made when times are bad in China.

Despite the marked predominance of Chinese, Singapore remains essentially cosmopolitan in character and outlook. Among its inhabitants are numbered not only Chinese, Malays and Indians, but also Indonesians of all types, Ceylonese, Siamese, Filipinos, Arabs, Jews, Persians, Europeans of all nationalities, Americans, Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders. English is becoming more and more widely spoken in the Colony, replacing the "bazaar Malay"—for years the *lingua franca* of Singaporeans—while even the Chinese abacus has given way to the cash register and European accountancy systems.

From its earliest beginnings the prosperity of Singapore has been founded on the principle of free trade, and even to-day, in an age of restrictions and shortages, the



View of Singapore from Fullerton Building.

port imposes duties only on the import of alcoholic liquors, tobacco and petroleum. On this principle the Colony has become a vast emporium through whose wharves pass the rubber, tin, rice, vegetable and mineral oils of South-East Asia and the high-grade machinery and finished manufactures of the West. In 1950 the value of this international trade rose to the phenomenal height of £546 million, with imports valued at £250 million and exports at £296 million.

In the course of time, as the rubber industry was developed not only in Malaya but in Indonesia and Borneo also, Singapore became the world's greatest rubber export centre. The Colony's contribution to this industry extends, however, beyond its services as a processing and transshipment centre for the product. It was at the Botanical Gardens, Singapore, in 1877 that the first successful trial plantings of rubber were carried out with seedlings sent from Kew Gardens, thus establishing that the crop could be grown in the region. It was in Singapore also that the first European processes of tin smelting were introduced in 1887, and 50 years later the port was smelting more tin than England and Holland combined. Other industries were established as the port grew in importance, and to-day the island's industrial activities include pineapple canning, coconut-oil milling, saw-milling, brewing, metal-printing, the manufacture of shoes, soap, cosmetics, glass and the production of industrial gases. Yet, in a sense, these are but by-products resulting from Singapore's major economic rôle which is, by tradition and geography, entrepôt for South-East Asia.

Enough has already been written on Singapore's astounding post-war recovery. Progress is to be seen

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not only in the vigorous resurgence of its commerce but in the expansion and improvement of its social services which, long before 1939, were second to none in Asia. Once more in this matter the Island is regarded as an example to other territories in the region and with the death rate comparable with that of England and Wales, Singapore remains the healthiest port in the East. The Colony's Ten-Year Education Plan, however, deserves special mention. Under this Plan, supplemented by a subsidiary Five-Year Plan, Singapore aims at providing free, universal, compulsory schooling for a school-age population numbering 300,000 by 1956. Another feature of educational advance was the foundation of the University of Malaya in October 1949 through the amalgamation of Raffles College and the King Edward VII College of Medicine. As in the past, the shortage of housing and the consequent severe overcrowding remains the major social problem and one which carries no short-term solution.

There are also one or two indications that Singapore's importance as a strategic base has increased since before the war, a development which may well have its psychological foundation in the bitter sense of loss experienced after its capture by the Japanese. In July 1948, the headquarters of the British Pacific Fleet was transferred from Hong Kong to Singapore and the command renamed the "Far East Station." In the same year, the international Air Transport Association named Singapore as one of the world's three main air centres, the other two being New York and Paris.

Yet for all the Colony's achievements, past and present, the accolade of city status comes at an unfortunate time coinciding as it does with the news of drastic press regulations and the discouraging findings of the Singapore Riots Inquiry Commission. These are melancholy facts which cannot be denied, but nevertheless the Colony can report some quite remarkable political progress. The rudiments of democratic practice are now to be seen both in the Central Legislature and in the Municipal Commission where a number of seats are filled by popular suffrage. Singapore has now a much greater say in the running of its own affairs than in the pre-war days of "no politics." Party politics are now in fact a feature of the Island's public life, but at the same time the main parties are free from the communal strife at present retarding political advancement in the Federation of Malaya.

However, the franchise in Singapore extends only to British subjects over 21 years of age, thereby excluding the mass of inhabitants, but nevertheless, as the Governor pointed out in February this year, the members of the Legislative Council set up in 1948 were "the first of the pioneers in the practice of representative government in South-East Asia," and the elected element has now been increased to 12 (out of a total of 26) members. Without minimising their importance these are, however, only the preliminary steps in Singapore's march towards self-government within the Commonwealth.

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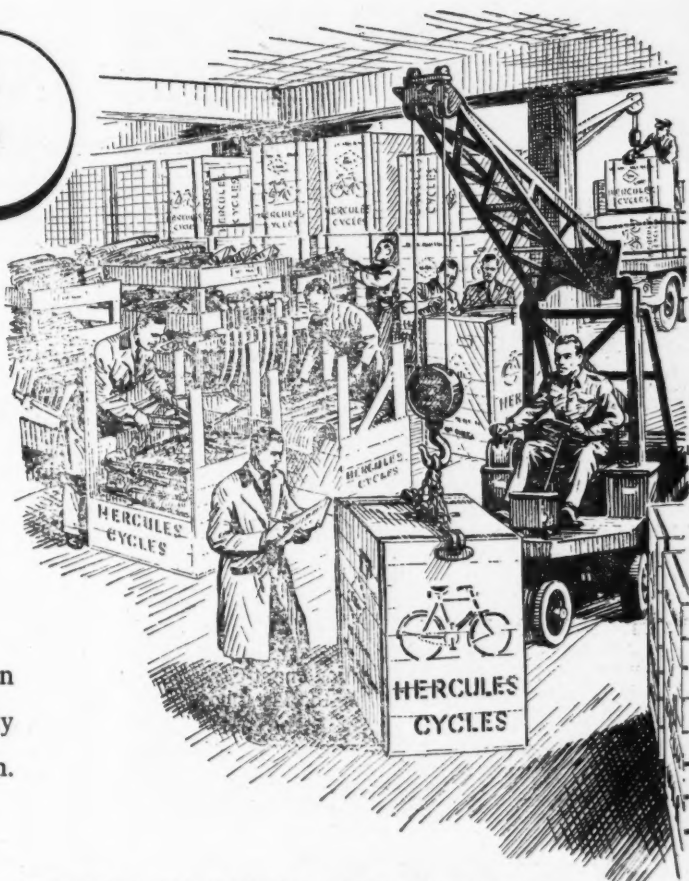
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BRITISH CHILDREN IN THE COLONIES

By BARBARA WHITTINGHAM-JONES

A MUTE casualty of Britain Overseas has always been—and still is—the children of her pioneers. For centuries parents have had to choose between the cruellest of alternatives: separation from their children or separation from each other. In the days of sailing ships, when a single voyage from Calcutta to East India Dock took six months, regular home leave was unknown, and children born in the East were kept there until the survivors had to be sent home for health and education.

No story is more poignant—or more typical—than that of Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore. His first marriage to Olivia Fancourt was ideally happy. She was the perfect partner, always a tower of strength and an unfailing source of inspiration to him. Of her, Abdulla, Raffles' Malay biographer, wrote enthusiastically: "She was not an ordinary woman, but was in every respect co-equal with her husband's position and responsibilities. Her habits were so active that in fact she did the duty of her husband; indeed, it was she that taught him. Thus God had matched them as king and councillor." But while Raffles was Lieutenant-Governor of Java (captured from the French in the last phase of the

Napoleonic War) Octavia succumbed to some tropical disease and died—quickly followed by their five children.

Back in London three years later, Raffles married again, and soon he and his second wife Sophia had raised another young family. In spite of his passionate absorption in empire-building, Raffles adored his children, and all his letters home are lyrical about their charms. "My dear little Charlotte is, of all creatures, the most angelic I ever beheld." "Leopold has the spirit of a lion and is absolutely beautiful." Nor would Stamford Marsden, the second son, fall far short of the others, added the doting father.

Alas! within a year of this happy picture the tragedy of Java was re-enacted in Sumatra. By this time Raffles had set the Union Jack on the barren island which is his title to enduring fame, only to be exiled for his pains to the derelict pepper port of Bencoolen. The whole family went down with fever, and all three children died in rapid succession. The surviving daughter, Ella, still an infant, was hastily sent off to England, though she did not live beyond her teens. Raffles' "political child," as he called Singapore, was thus purchased at the cost of eight children of his own flesh and blood.

In one respect the successors of Raffles are better off than he. Improvements in tropical hygiene, housing and medicine have transformed life in the tropics, where the climate is often ideal for small children up to the age of six or seven. European infant mortality is actually lower in the Colonies than at home. With the speeding-up of travel in the steamship era the "tour" of duty shortened and home leave lengthened until eventually the present-day time-table of three or four years abroad and six months at home became the rule.

But all these improvements have failed to remove the bogey of separation. For the modern family, as for its Victorian predecessor, it is the Seven-year-old who precipitates the crisis which every "colonial" bride knows has been lurking in the wings since her wedding day: to stay at home with the children and send her husband back to his post alone, or to return with her husband and leave the children with relatives or friends.

The wife's choice may vary with individual and changing circumstances. Often there is a compromise solution when she stays behind with the children for an extra six months or year and returns ahead of the husband. But if the husband's tour is for four years, it means at best a separation between mother and child for the best part of two or three years—long enough for both to become estranged and for the child to be deprived of security and affection.

For fathers there is no way of shortening the three- or four-year separation from their children while they are at school. The modern father, increasingly educated in the function of parenthood and eager to fulfil it, is,

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like the modern mother, resentful of conditions which virtually cut him off from his children from the moment they begin to emerge from infancy until he retires and they are grown up.

In the past there was no alternative to this splitting up of families, with all its demoralising and frustrating consequences. To-day no British official or businessman overseas should be penalised by family separations which, in the Air Age, are no longer a physical necessity. That dreadful choice between husband and children which has haunted "colonial" wives down the centuries and strikes at the whole foundation of marriage should be as obsolete as the East Indianmen which conveyed the pioneers to the East. Modern air travel has removed the physical obstacle to frequent reunions between parents overseas and their schoolchildren in the United Kingdom; only the financial obstacle—its cost—now remains.

The importance of this vital human problem was first officially recognised by the B.O.A.C. when in December, 1948, it offered children's air passages at approximately half the adult fare. About 500 schoolchildren were flown to their parents for the summer holidays in 1949 and 1950, and this year the number has increased to nearly a thousand. Of these, 403 have flown, at their parents' expense, to destinations east of Cairo in the following proportions: Singapore 156, Hong Kong 64, Colombo 61, Bombay 34, Karachi 31, Calcutta 22, Tokyo 11, Rangoon 10, Bangkok 5, New Delhi 3, Bahrein 3, Darwin 2, Basra 1, Jakarta 1. Children travelling unaccompanied must produce a certificate from their headmaster or headmistress stating that the object of the journey is to rejoin their parents overseas. Apart from this stipulation, the scheme is open to all who wish to use it between any two points on the B.O.A.C. world air routes. For the fortunate few who have the means to afford to fly their children out the problem is enormously softened. For the rest it is as barbarous as in Raffles' time. Modern firms are beginning to assume responsibility for maintaining the family life of their staff. B.O.A.C. employees can fly to any part of the world, together with their wives and children, at 10 per cent. of the normal passenger fare. This means that the children of B.O.A.C. officials stationed abroad may spend their school holidays with their parents at little more cost than if both parties were in the United Kingdom. One or two of the big firms pay one return air passage for every child of its



Children setting off to join their parents for a holiday.

[By courtesy of the B.O.A.C.]

staff once in a three-year contract, thus enabling schoolchildren to visit their parents for one summer holiday in three free of charge. All employers, whether Government, army or commercial, pay wives' passages as a matter of course, and in some cases those of children under seven. But in general, apart from the above-mentioned exceptions, there is as yet no recognition of claims of schoolchildren to be with their parents in the holidays.

Hundreds of parents as happily married as Raffles and his Olivia are deeply conscious of the now avoidable hardship inflicted upon their children, but feel themselves caught in the grip of circumstances they are powerless to alter, since, unlike trade unionists, colonial civil servants and salaried business men cannot agitate or petition openly for an addition to their emoluments. Whatever his job, every man overseas should be entitled to have his children in his own home at least once a year. A precedent has been set by some of the more socially conscious organs of private enterprise, and it is surely time that the Colonial Office followed their example by urging all Colonial Governments to end the era of family separation. Other private firms would soon find themselves obliged to follow suit.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir,—In your March/April number you published an article, "The Cocoa Experiment in Malaya." Am I wrong in thinking that some considerable time ago Malaya was a cocoa-producing area, and on account of diseases, such as canker, bud rot, etc., the whole of the estates were allowed to go back to bush? A similar fate awaits the Gold Coast, unless serious attention is paid to the trouble. As an ex-cocoa producer, I feel sure that if the estates are treated properly, and any disease eradicated promptly, there can be only slight losses, but on the Gold Coast, for years, nobody troubled about canker or bud rot, and the return the native received for his product did not allow him to pay for expert assistance. These conditions prevailed some time ago, but as the damage may be dated to the present time, it is understandable why they are having so much trouble.

Perhaps the experts have omitted to consider seedlings from Western Samoa, and also the help some of the producers of that group may be able to give them. Properly cured, and fermented, Samoan cocoa always enjoyed great popularity on the West Coast of the U.S.A., as well as in Holland and in the United Kingdom, and it is thought that some benefit may be obtained by asking the Planters' Association of Western Samoa for their assistance. Yours, etc.,
J. NIXONWESTWOOD
Wellington,
New Zealand.

Sir,—There have recently appeared in the Press many references to the shortage of reading material for our forces in Korea. In the bleak conditions of the Korean campaign such a shortage is unfortunate, for it is in these very conditions that books will be most welcome to men dependent on their own resources for such leisure that they may have. More than this, the wars of to-day are wars of ideas and cannot be fought on a diet from which good reading matter is excluded. As an independent, non-profit making organisation, the National Book League has undertaken the responsibility for organising a fund to purchase books for the troops in Korea, and through the courtesy of your columns the League would

like to invite large and small donations to this fund, so that this shortage can be overcome with all possible speed.

The selection of books is made by an independent committee whose choice is based on both the quality and the popularity of the books. As contributions to the fund accrue, books are purchased in bulk and arrangements have been made with the War Office and Air Ministry for crates of books to be sent to Korea.

The account for the fund has been opened at Messrs. Coutts and Co., 440 Strand, London, W.C.2, to whom all contributions should be sent. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to Messrs. Coutts and should be crossed "NBL forces book fund." Contributions will be most gratefully acknowledged by the officers of the League.

Yours, etc.,

J. A. KENCHINGTON,
Press Secretary.

National Book League,
London, W.1.

Dear Sir,—Through the W.V.S. "Magazines for the Forces" scheme, magazines are now being sent to nearly 500 Unit Canteens and Service Clubs in the Far East, Germany, Austria, Trieste and the Middle East.

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Yours, etc.,

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EAST—WEST PERSONALITIES

Sir Mirza Ismail's Assignment

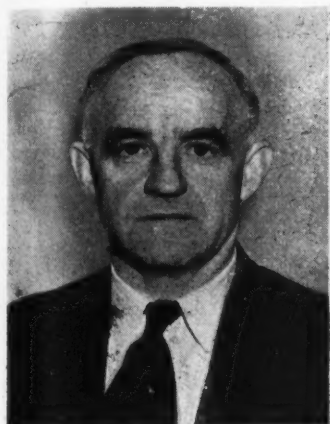
MANY who have been impressed with the progress in the past of South India's model state of Mysore must have been glad to learn that that able administrator, Sir Mirza Ismail, is once again in harness, this time as an official of the United Nations. His assignment is to help Indonesia to make the most of such facilities for national development as are available from U.N. and its different specialist organisations—Unesco, the World Health Organisation, International Labour Office, etc.—and for a variety of reasons he should be a most acceptable choice.

The descendant of a business man who migrated from Persia to South India, Sir Mirza had the opportunity of going to school with a young man who was destined to become Maharaja of Mysore. Later he became his old schoolfellow's private secretary and then his Diwan. As Diwan from 1926 to 1941 he was largely responsible for the great improvement in conditions in the state in all aspects of life—from the beautifying of its chief cities to rural electrification and the starting of new industries. His sudden resignation it was freely reported was due to a clash of views on schemes for automobile and aircraft industries some time after the accession of a new maharaja.

Two other states had the benefit of his services as chief minister—Jaipur and Hyderabad—and when he left the latter state, owing, it was said, to the Nizam's failure to realise the wisdom of his plea for realism, many must have felt that his experience was likely to be of immense value to the new dominion of India about to come into being.

New Kashmir Mediator

KASHMIR, the problem of whose disposal might have defeated the wisdom of Solomon himself, receives the attention of yet another mediator and one with quite exceptional qualifications for the task. By calling a professor of history at North Carolina University and its President for most of the past two decades, Dr. Frank Porter Graham has yet found time to become an expert conciliator not only in the labour and manpower problems of his own land, but also in one major dispute in the Far East. In academic life



and outside he has been a stout champion of fundamental human rights, which is no easy matter in the Southern States.

The 64-year-old mediator is a North Carolina man. He studied at its university and, after short spells as a schoolmaster and Y.M.C.A. secretary, joined its teaching staff. In the inter-war period he laboured

to develop educational and library facilities in his State while also visiting Europe for research work at the British Museum, the London School of Economics and the League of Nations.

Both on the U.S. National Defence Mediation Board in 1941 and on the War Labour Board thereafter Graham displayed a sincerity and high sense of justice that won him the esteem of leaders of both labour and management. His membership of the U.N. Panel of Conciliators and his nomination to the three-man committee on Indonesia were widely approved. In 1949 he became Senator for North Carolina and later Defence Manpower Administrator at Washington. For his work on the Lynch Law, Poll Tax and allied subjects as a member of the Truman Committee on Civil Rights he received the Sidney Hillman Award.

The Indian Prime Minister has promised Dr. Graham a courteous reception, but those who realise how badly a running sore like Kashmir can affect the peace of India and Pakistan and react on the peace of the world generally hope that the mediator's efforts will yield something more substantial than polite talk.

A Leader in War and Peace

HIS Royal Highness Shah Mahmoud Ghazi, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, who was in London on a short private visit this summer, is a fine example of a fighting man turned administrator, leading his soldiers in war and then showing them figuratively how to turn their swords into ploughshares. Born 63 years ago, he received his early training for the army in Kabul. During the Anglo-Afghan War of 1919 he served as one of the youngest generals of his kinsman Amanullah, after which he became the governor of the Eastern Province.

In 1926-27 came the disturbed period when the brigand Habibullah for a short period

became the ruler of the country. Shah Mahmoud helped his brother Nadir Shah to restore order, and when the latter became King he served him as Minister of War. He held this office till 1945 when he became Prime Minister, an office he now holds under his nephew, King Zahir Shah.

As War Minister Shah Mahmoud Ghazi inaugurated many reforms, one of them being a system of army education which aimed at reducing illiteracy in the country by seeing that every soldier learnt to read and write during his three years in the army. He encouraged sports in the army, being himself a keen tennis and hockey player in his younger days, and holds an important position in the nation's Olympic organisation. To help the military academy to obtain a good supply of officer cadets, he established three military high schools which act as feeders for the academy. To modernise the Afghan Army he obtained the help of experts from Germany and Turkey.

Since becoming Prime Minister he has shown his interest in the arts of peace in many ways. He has led his country in its wholehearted co-operation with the United Nations Organisation and its specialist organisations and it is of particular interest to note that he has lately sponsored legislation to implement the recommendations of the United Nations regarding freedom of the Press. His regime has seen the inauguration of road-building schemes and irrigation schemes such as the Helmand and Sarobi projects.

One of the interests of the Prime Minister in his spare time is his garden—and this reminds one of the love of Babar, founder of the Mogul dynasty in India, for his garden city of Kabul.



FROM ALL QUARTERS

The Singapore Riots

Eighteen people were killed and 173 injured in the riots of Singapore last year, when the Supreme Court awarded 13-year-old Maria Hertogh to her parents. Yet six months later, an appeal by her foster-mother, Che



Sir Charles Murray Endsleigh, Chief Justice of Singapore.

Aminah, was struck off within the first few minutes as she had not paid the sum of nearly 10,000 Malayan dollars involved in the Lower Court proceedings.

Bearing in mind the intensity of Moslem feelings during the riots, the whole of the Singapore police was on duty on the day of the appeal, but there were no incidents and there were fewer than 20 people in the public gallery.

The Report of the Singapore Riots Inquiry Commission, published a few days after the final dismissal of the appeal, is at great pains to explain why the case of a little Dutch girl who had been brought up in the Moslem faith, and married a Moslem before she was placed in a Roman Catholic convent, could have caused so much bloodshed. The police are being criticised for being incompetent and demoralised. But what seems far more important, however, is that a clash between Moslems and Christians can be organised at the slightest provocation.

Council for Papua and New Guinea

The Australian Minister for Territories, Mr. Paul Hasluck, who is visiting Papua and New Guinea, has announced that a Legislative Council will be established in the Territory as provided for in the Papua and New Guinea Act.

Mr. Hasluck said that he hoped the first meeting of the Council would be held in November of this year. The Act provides for a council consisting of 29 members, namely, the Administrator, 16 officers of the Territory, three members to be elected and six to be nominated by the Administrator, of whom three will represent the Christian missions, and three natives to be nominated by the Administrator.

The Minister said it would be necessary to hold general elections to choose the three representatives of the general community. Since the re-establishment of civil administration after the war, the Territory of Papua and New Guinea has been governed from Canberra.

Food for India

Schemes for expanding India's food production are progressing satisfactorily. Public squares, vacant plots and even Government properties are being ploughed under and planted with food crops. Both Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, and Mr. Prasad, the President, are using their own gardens to grow wheat.



Harvest in front of Mr. Nehru's official Residence.

At the same time substantial quantities of food are still being sent to India from all over the world. A large shipment of rice will soon be on its way from Brazil through the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. The rice is to be given to children in the famine-stricken areas and totals approximately 1,000,000 lbs. This is the third sent to India by the Children's Fund. During the last few months, more than 3,000,000 lbs. were sent from Thailand, and nearly 900,000 lbs. from Burma.

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BOOKS on the

The Commonwealth in Asia by SIR IVOR JENNINGS, K.C. (Oxford University Press, 10s. 6d.)

Within the compass of this little volume, which contains the text of the Waynflete Lectures for 1949 delivered at Oxford, is a very clear analysis of the problems facing the Asian Dominions on the eve of independence and the way they have tried to solve them. The diversity of race and caste; communal problems as they were and as they are; education and language and their repercussions on politics; class divisions and the political consciousness of the middle classes; responsible government based on constitutions which are essentially British in texture (a matter which Ceylon accepted openly, though after the rebellion against British rule the Indian National Congress tried to follow precedents culled from other sources); the new constitution of India and Ceylon; and finally, the future of relations with the white members of the Commonwealth—these are the subjects treated, and it is of interest to note how things look to an observer from Ceylon, where the lecturer is Vice-Chancellor of Ceylon University. Ceylon, smaller and with less acute problems than the other Dominions in Asia, was the first to obtain a full constitution and put it fully into operation, and Sir Ivor Jennings feels that the Ceylonese may possibly show the way towards solving the problems of all three countries. Certainly it is worth having the views of someone in Colombo who can look at India and Pakistan with complete detachment.

While Pakistan has not completed her constitution and Ceylon's is, fully operative, it is of especial interest to see what a critical student thinks of India's masterly piece of legal drafting about to be translated from paper into practice. As a lawyer, Sir Ivor Jennings puts his finger on points that may escape the layman and, for instance, sees behind the many pages regulating the official language of the Union that English is likely to be indispensable to India beyond the fifteen years allowed for the switch over to Hindi. He thinks it odd that the constitution is so vague on parliamentary representation and the delimitation of constituencies when it goes into vast detail over what he deems the comparatively unimportant institutions like the High Courts. The Bill of Rights, he feels, does not solve the problems arising from diversity. New social conventions and marriage habits and the solution of language difficulties—all slow processes—are needed to tackle problems that no legal drafting can overcome. Of the Emergency Provisions, the author observes that fundamental liberties may be suspended just when they are most needed. Since the book was written, the first amendment has been made in the constitution itself in which freedom of expression is curtailed even before the constitution has been given a trial, so that one feels that the author's unexpressed fear as to the way in which emergency powers may be used has some substance in it.

The final lecture examines the reasons for the Asian members remaining in the Commonwealth. Emotional

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FAR EAST

factors that weigh with Canada, Australia and New Zealand are absent here. Colour prejudice, "imperialism" and "power politics" might be factors that antagonise the Asian dominions. But there are substantial material advantages from association with the Commonwealth group. There are the benefits of consultation and access to confidential information from the Commonwealth Relations Office. Then freedom calls for the ability to defend one's territory, and Ceylon in particular in 1942 came to realise their dependence on the Royal Navy and the R.A.F. There are trading advantages, with Britain still the best customer and the benefits of "Imperial Preference." Membership of the sterling bloc and the financial experience of the City of London count for something. Finally, there is the intellectual dependence of the three countries on the United Kingdom. Professional and cultural links might continue even if they left the Commonwealth, but within the group the obligation on the British organisations concerned is generally realised. Realising that membership of the Commonwealth is independence with something added and that there was no particular advantage in severing the link, the Asian members are not likely to object to the "something added."

FARRUKHSIYAR

Chinese-Russian Relations by MICHEL N. PAVLOVSKY
(*Philosophical Library, New York, \$3.75*)

Although the title is misleading, since this book is far from being a coherent picture of Sino-Russian relations, nevertheless the work done by the author is of outstanding value. Approximately half of the book is devoted to the study of "The Role of Mongolia." Within the frame of four chapters it takes the reader back to the very beginnings of Sino-Russian relations (at the time of the 13th century Mongol exploits) and leads him to the Soviet-Mongolian "mutual assistance" pact of 1936.

To the student of Mongolian and Far Eastern affairs the extensive use made by Pavlovsky of N. N. Kniazev's book on Ungern-Sternberg, *The Legendary Baron*, (Harbin, 1942, in Russian) and other White Russian sources should be of special interest because of some psychological and political aspects hitherto unknown to Western readers.

As to the omissions—and they are numerous—of important data in Russo-Mongolian relations of which Mr. Pavlovsky could easily be accused, they may be explained away by the limits the author had to set himself during his researches in war-time China.

The other three studies are of lesser importance to the general reader, but will not fail to attract historians. They deal with the part the Jesuits played in early Sino-Russian diplomatic exchanges, the Russian emigrés in China at the end of the 17th century, and a strange document sent to Peking in 1670 which proposed that the Emperor K'ang-hsi should become a vassal of the Tsar.

JOSEPH KALMER

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Proceedings of the India-America Conference
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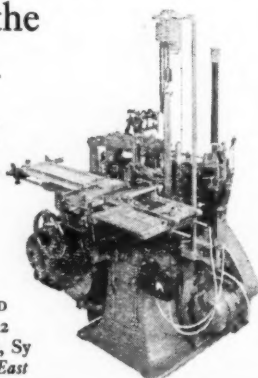
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American Military Government in Korea by E. GRANT
MEADE (*Kings Crown Press. London: Geoffrey
Cumberlege, 24s.*)

Dr. Meade has produced a book which is of crucial importance to anyone interested in the inner workings of Korea. It should be read with the same detachment and objectivity as have clearly gone into its compilation, for otherwise it might be construed as a completely gloomy indictment of American military government.

The author has taken the scholar's approach to his subject. He was an active participant in the early stages of American occupation of South Korea and has set down an admirably documented record of the blunders and injustices which arose in Cholla Nam Do. It is unfortunate that his experience was limited largely to one province and that it terminated in what has since proved to be a formative stage of United States relations with the Korean people and Government. Even so, his account of events is a most valuable illustration of the traps and pitfalls which await envoys of a Western nation, in dealing with a society of an entirely different structure and outlook.

Throughout the book the reader is made repeatedly aware of the immense handicaps imposed by the language barrier which led to a Korean definition of military government as government by and for interpreters.

In the final analysis it emerges clearly from Dr. Meade's survey that in spite of all mistakes the military government brought about notable progress in restoring local administration, re-establishing educational facilities, improving sanitation, restoring transportation and communication, reclaiming arable land, initiating a re-afforestation programme, improving flood control, rehabilitating the fishing industry and preventing widespread starvation. He was not on the scene to observe the later development of policy on the question of land reform, or he might well have added that to the list of subjects on which his judgment is favourable. He also shows that the only real sufferer from the inexperience and ineptitude of some American officials was the United States. For a variety of reasons, but not least the disruptive tactics adopted by the left-wing Koreans, military government tended in its later stages to favour the right, but at the same time, as Dr. Meade points out, many of the original incumbents of civil affairs posts in Cholla Nam Do, at least, leaned over backwards to be fair.

The writer's strongest criticism, and it is one for which he proffers ample justification, is of the undue degree of centralisation introduced by military government.

For a volume so detailed and well-documented, Dr. Meade's contribution to the post-war history of Korea moves with remarkable pace and sense of drama.

J. M. SPEY

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A Dragon Apparent by NORMAN LEWIS (*Jonathan Cape, 15s.*)

Writing to his home country from a point near Haifong in June, 1895, Marshal (then Chief of Staff) Lyautey took pleasure in recounting "the amazing and sympathetic welcome (given) to our troops, whom the people looked upon as their liberators." As the observant Mr. Lewis found recently, all is different to-day. Walking through the streets of Saigon, he writes, "my eyes never met those of a Viet Namee. There was no gesture or half smile of recognition. I was ignored even by the children."

This, although as he recalls, the Viet Namee have been described in earlier times as gay, sociable and showing a lively curiosity where strangers were concerned. They have now, he concludes, "withdrawn into themselves. They are too civilised to spit at the sight of a white man . . . but they are utterly indifferent." It was as if a general agreement had been reached among them that this was the best way of dealing with an intolerable presence. One can agree with him that it is most uncomfortable to feel oneself the object of a "universal detestation, a mere foreign-devil in fact."

Nevertheless, he overcame his uneasiness and journeyed on. It is well that he did so, for he has written a travel book of rare value.

After China had passed into the hands of the Communists, he asked himself which would be the next country to undergo the changes spreading so quickly across Asia "and which would have to be seen now, or

never in its present form." He decided that Indo-China was that country, and set off in the middle of January, 1950. It was his fixed belief that the social structure of Indo-China was due for great changes and that the Bao Dai experiment had not succeeded.

The Viet-Minh got into touch with Lewis while he was in the country and, after several vain endeavours, he managed to work his way into their territory for a brief visit. "Our enemies are slowly converting us to Communism," said the Commander of the rebel post. "If it is only by becoming Communists that we shall achieve our liberty, then we shall become Communists."

HOWARD FOX

The Government and Politics of China by CH'EN TUAN-SHENG, (*Harvard University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 50s.*)

The subject of this book, as Professor Holcombe tells us in his excellent introduction, is the government of China under the dictatorship of the Kuomintang. The first six chapters deal briefly with "Old China," the impact of the west, the national movement led by Sun Yat-sen, the rise of the Kuomintang, the final triumph of the Northern Expedition and the establishment of the National Government of the Republic of China at Nanking in 1928.

At the beginning of this century the reformers and revolutionaries were greatly impressed by the example of Japan who in less than 50 years had won recognition as a Great Power. They attributed this success to the fact that Japan had adopted a Constitution and promulgated



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law codes on the western model, and Dr. Ch'ien accordingly devotes the greater part of his book to accounts of the law codes, the innumerable Organic Laws and the dozen or so constitutions to the drafting of which the intellectual and political leaders of China devoted a great part of their time from 1908 onwards. He describes in great detail the administration set up under the Five-Yuan system invented by Sun Yat-sen, and he criticises severely practically every organ of both Party and Government. Their defects, he declares, "all proceed from the one essential defect: the Five-Yuan structure is too complicated a scheme for either efficient or intelligent government." The various constitutions, however elaborate their provisions, consistently failed to prevent concentration of power in the hands of one man—Chiang Kai-shek—who "in the end became leader of a party of servile men but not a party of men and ideas."

Chapter XVII deals with the law codes, the preparation of which began as early as 1902. "If they have not been duly enforced," says Dr. Ch'ien, "it is not because they are unenforceable, but because of the inaccessibility of the courts, the incompetence of the judges and especially the interference of authorities other than the judicial in the administration of justice." The Supreme Court "for most of the two decades of its existence has been presided over by men who have been neither jurists nor experienced judges nor even honest politicians." It is a little difficult, therefore, to share the author's surprise that "even the completion of these codes (in 1935) did not immediately terminate the Powers' extraterritorial jurisdiction."

Dr. Ch'ien declares that "Western traders and missionaries made a concerted attack on Chinese law and Chinese administration," and in response to their demand "the British first wrung extraterritorial jurisdiction from China in 1842." This is quite untrue. The difference between Chinese and Western conceptions of the nature and function of law created a problem which China solved by herself imposing a system of extraterritoriality on the outer barbarians who came within the pale of Chinese civilisation. The treaty of 1842 said nothing about extraterritoriality because it was tacitly assumed that the existing system would continue. It is also quite untrue that the Chinese felt that western law was superior to Chinese law. In adopting western codes they were merely following the example of Japan.

While he was delivering the lectures at Harvard, on which this book is based, Dr. Ch'ien appears to have been quite unconscious that the Kuomintang government was then in the throes of final dissolution. The concluding chapter—"The Outlook for a Government for the People by the People"—consists of twelve pages of elegant verbiage, and the Organic Law of the Central Peoples Government of September 27, 1949 was "added to the original manuscript" and is printed as an appendix without comment.

The Index is both inadequate and misleading and far too much information is buried in the 28 pages of notes where the reader will have difficulty in finding it again. But in spite of some defects Dr. Ch'ien's book will be of great value to all students of Chinese affairs. It is an authoritative account of Chinese politics by one who was an actor in the scenes he describes. It draws a vivid and convincing picture of the political groups and parties that were continually springing into existence after the revolution. They were composed of men "who united not to realise any programme of national interest, but to bargain for personal advantage with men of power" and it was their intrigues, schisms and military conflicts that were in large measure the cause of China's failure over nearly half a century to conduct the revolution to a satisfactory conclusion.

J. T. PRATT

The Buddhist Way of Life

by F. HAROLD SMITH, M.A., D.D. (Hutchinsons University Library, 7s. 6d.)

There have been innumerable books written on this subject, many of them unfortunately giving a very false impression. This book, however, is an exception. To attempt, as the author has done, to encompass a subject as vast as Buddhism and place it within the form of a small book of 189 pages, must have required great thought and planning. It is a pleasure to read a book such as this by an author who has taken the trouble to study and understand the subject in question.

Dr. Smith has presented us with what might be termed a "Digest" of Buddhism, tracing its historical growth and sketching what he believes to be the background in which it grew. It is primarily a book for the general reader, but at the same time it serves the purpose of being a handbook to a deeper study of the subject. A slight Christian bias on the part of the author in no way detracts from the book's merit. W. A. PURFURST

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Sheaves by RABINDRANATH TAGORE, translated by NAGENDRANATH GUPTA (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Rs. 7/8)

It is highly questionable whether Mr. Nagendranath Gupta's translation—in free verse—of these *Sheaves*, gleaned from Rabindranath Tagore's lyrical harvest, will do any good to the memory of the great poet. Tagore himself translated his poems into a forceful English prose, and well he knew which of them were suitable for translation. So did his other translators into European languages: Mr. Kalidas Nag (French), Herr Hans Effenberger (German), Prof. Dr. Vincenc Lesny (Czech), etc. Only the last-named had that perfect knowledge of the poet's and his own mother tongue which enabled him to preserve the rhyme and metre of the author's original Bengali.

There is also the problem of style which has to be solved. We try our hand even at translations of the Bible into "modern" language so as to avoid antiquated and obsolescent words, to make the perusal more palatable, to adapt eternal contents to contemporary usage. How then can a line like *Wast thou never a budding maiden tender in years?* . . . evoke anything but a mild

smile? Even the best among Mr. Gupta's versifications are pedestrian and remind one of grammar school homework. Were it not for the translator's, perhaps slightly hagiographic, introduction (29 pages), with its useful sketch of Tagore's life, the conclusion would be forced upon the reader that no particular service had been done to the poet by publishing these *Sheaves*.

JOSEPH KALMER

Vile Repose by MICHAEL P. O'CONNOR (*Ernest Benn* 9s. 6d.)

The Japanese war is far enough behind us, we are told, for passions to have subsided sufficiently for an objective account to be written of what happened on an island in the Pacific when the unwanted visitors took over. This is a novel, but the conviction it carries on every page shows well enough that it is fiction woven on to a warp of compelling fact. How a doctor and his nurses, some missionaries, an American citizen, and some Dutch settlers met the challenge of the vile repose enforced on them by circumstance, how they assessed their temporary masters and how they struggled back afterwards to normal life is Dr. O'Connor's story.

W. N.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

THE last issue (Vol. XXXVIII, April - July, 1951) of the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* is topical to a degree not usual with quarterlies, and we have to be grateful to its editor for the choice of lectures and discussions published. I should particularly like to mention Mr. H. E. Richardson's article on "The State of Tibet" and the administrative structure of the Dalai Lama's country. With Communist China now asserting her suzerainty, this system cannot survive. It "could only survive for very long in isolation; and Tibet, in addition to geographical isolation, has been isolated by the continuing internal weakness of Chinese Governments in the past."

Highly interesting is also Dr. Victor Purcell's report on "A Recent Tour of South-East Asia," and what he has to say about the conditions obtaining for planters and miners. "They live in their bungalows, which are now turned into small fortresses with barbed-wire round, and which have constantly to be floodlit at night. Thus, because of the Terror, these people are denied even the comfort of going to sleep in the dark! Directly they leave their bungalows they are in danger of being ambushed and shot. . . . However, I would say that if Malaya is left to itself it will ultimately be able to solve its own problems, but the question is, will Malaya be left to itself?"

The last issues of *People's China*, are devoted to the differences in revolutions in capitalist and imperialist countries, the Russian revolution being the model for them and revolutions in the feudalistic or colonial countries of Asia, the model for which should be Chinese revolution according to Peking. It is more than doubtful whether this opinion is shared by Moscow, and the articles in *People's China*, concerned with the strategy and

tactics of revolution in Asia, are also remarkable for their absence of the usual adulation of Stalin. It is now Mao whose theories and prophecies, based on the experience of the Chinese Communists' fight against the Kuomintang and Japan, are explained and driven home to adepts and pupils in the whole of South-East Asia and, incidentally, India too.

Students of Indian affairs are advised to read regularly Bombay's *Forum*, a weekly with leftist tendencies that will keep them up to date on topicalities of Indian life and politics, especially now, when the split in the Congress Party and the coming elections are throwing their shadows over the country. Nowhere else did I find such a clear survey and appreciation of Mr. Narayan's Indian Socialist Party's programme as in *Forum*.

There is an interesting article on "Thailand" in New Delhi's *Caravan*. It should be read in connection with the Bangkok *Standard's* report on the kidnapping of Premier Pibul Songkram by Navy officers.

In the *Far Eastern Survey* Dr. J. M. H. Lindbeck, assistant professor of Far Eastern studies at Yale University, deals with "Communist Policy and the Chinese Family." "Through a systematic program they (the Chinese Communists) are trying to bring the 'traditional' family system to an end as rapidly as possible and to replace it with a new family pattern which is workable under present conditions in China and which will contribute—a matter of primary importance—to the successful operation of their political and economic organisation and programs. . . . Building a system of power and order outside of and apart from the family is a revolutionary undertaking in China. Yet the Communists are engaged in just this. To achieve it they are trying to neutralise the influence of the family by ideological, political, economic, legal, and other methods."

JOHN KENNEDY

THE DEMON TIGER

(A Tibetan Folk-tale)

By PAUL ROCHE

WHAT do you seek?" said the lama not looking up. The two young men paused, then Tussu the elder began, twirling his bare toes uneasily.

"We seek wisdom, Holy Sir—wisdom at your hands."

"We would be your disciples, Venerable One," stammered Yeshe, fingering the coral and amber rosary round his neck. "We would be adepts at the 'Short Path'."

Lama Dorjee looked up and he gazed with a mixture of boredom and eagerness at the two young men.

"We would become masters over the demons and evil spirits," went on Yeshe, gaining confidence a little.

"What monastery do you come from?" enquired the lama. "I presume you would not seek initiation into the Short Path without previous training."

"Sir," replied Tussu, "since our youth we have dwelt in the monastery of Yalung."

Lama Dorjee's eyes twinkled maliciously:

"Are you not mad, my children," he said, "to come to me, an old and ignorant man?"

Tussu and Yeshe looked at each other. They knew that gurus sometimes made a show of depreciating their own status. But no more needed to be said. The lama stretched out his hand towards Yeshe:

"Kneel down, my son."

Yeshe approached and kissed the long, emaciated hand, and Tussu noticed the three silver rings heavily jewelled with turquoise and coral.

"Place your left hand on my head," said the old man, stooping down towards him.

Yeshe rested his thick strong fingers on the matted hair coiled in a kind of queue clasped with small hoops of amber.

"Is it your will to pay the price of suffering necessary to learn the mystic enlightenment?" murmured the lama.

"It is."

"Are you aware what that price may be?" went on the old man.

"Yes. I offer my health and my life; is that not enough?"

"Not always, my son. Disease, death and madness are the rewards of many who have done so."

There was a pause.

"I am willing," said Yeshe.

Presently the lines of the lama's face relaxed. "Come, both of you, and take refreshment," he murmured; then, turning to Tussu: "Be prepared tomorrow to go with your brother to the lake of Ngu-shi, where he is to begin his vigil."

They went up a few steps and entered the lama's dwelling. It was a large cave, whose walls were lined with books. Against one wall was an altar, with a row of brass butter-lamps before it. To Tussu's alarm, the image above the altar was of Thags Yang, the powerful demon who was said to make himself visible in the form of a tiger. The monster was standing over a mauled human victim.

The lama looked at Tussu.

"My son," he said, "the true disciple of the Short Path must learn early to liberate himself from the terror of demons. The lesson is hazardous; tomorrow the opportunity of learning it will be given to your brother. Come, let us eat and drink."

* * *

Lama Dorjee's hermitage was about half a day's march from the nearest hamlet ("not too near a village, not too far from a village," as laid down in the Buddhist scriptures), and about fifteen miles from the Lake of Ngu-shi—one of the most desolate spots in Tibet.

The sun had just risen when the young men, after receiving instructions from the lama, began their climb down to the valley. Tussu was struck by the beauty of the descent. They passed through forests of fir and rhododendron, and dense groves of bamboo brake, finally reaching alpine meadows, where tall grasses and flowers grew around the margins of a lake.

Clambering into a small canoe—hidden where the lama had said—they paddled across the green waters towards an island about half a mile from shore. It was wooded, but in the middle was a clearing, and there, near a jacaranda tree, Tussu prepared to carry out the commands of the lama, and started to bind his brother.

Yeshe, seeing how despondent he was, tried to cheer him.

"In three days' time," he laughed, "when we meet again, see that you call me 'Rimpoche' (Most Venerable One)—or I shall turn you into a yak."

"In three days and three nights, my brother," whispered Tussu gravely, "you don't know what fasting and loneliness will have done to you. Tell me, how will you spend your time?"

"I have mystic exercises to perform," replied Yeshe lightly,



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"and I must concentrate much. Why, before you reach the winter-torrent again I shall be in a trance, and before you have made the hermitage, my personality will be transformed."

"How, brother?"

"By sheer thought, as the lama has directed me."

"Into what, brother?"

"Into that of a bullock. That is why you are tying me up. I am to imagine that I am a bullock offered in propitiation to Thags Yang, the demon tiger. I am to keep my mind fixed on that idea—even lowing like the beast from time to time, and if my concentration proves strong enough I shall pass into a trance."

"What will happen then, brother?"

"Why, I shall become so identified with the animal that my own personality will be lost. I shall experience all the anguish of a bullock in danger of being devoured."

Dusk had fallen when the two brothers said goodbye; Tussu with tears in his eyes, Yeshe still cheerful.

"I wish," muttered Tussu, "that I could stay with him tonight."

Then he remembered the lama's warning:

"Do not linger, for the place is haunted by Thags Yang," and he began to be afraid. He climbed into the canoe and paddled away with quick strokes. Once he looked back and could just see through the trees the tall athletic figure of Yeshe bound to the tree and clad only in his rosary and his long black hair. By the time he reached the shore and began to push up towards the heights, the first fireflies were out and the bull-frogs along the marsh were croaking.

* * *

Two days passed at the hermitage before Tussu again saw Lama Dorjee. He caught a glimpse of him on the second day after his return, hurrying down the steps of the cave equipped as for a journey. The guru seemed to move with astonishing agility, and his descent of the steps was like a leap of a panther.

"No doubt the Master is practising the 'lun-gom-pa'," thought the young man. "See how light his body is! Ah, tomorrow Yeshe will return, and he too will prove that all sacrifices are worth such wonders."

Two further days went by and Yeshe did not return. It was now the fourth day since he had been left on the island, and Tussu, a little worried, determined to approach the lama.

Hesitating on the top step he was about to push through the curtain of cowrie shells when the unmistakable grunt of an animal came from within. He peered inside and was surprised to see Lama Dorjee prostrated before the altar of Thags Yang. Then he realised with horror that the noises came from the lama, who was hunched on all fours and covered in scratches, as if he had dragged his body through a thicket. The contorted form swayed slightly, twisting its head from side to side and growling. The eyes—so it seemed in the half-light of the little lamps—flashed orange and green, and the tongue, lolling from the thin lips, licked around them in spasms, like an animal's tongue.

Tussu gently let the cowrie shells fall back and retreated. "I am on holy ground," he murmured. "The Master is personifying the demon tiger. This perhaps is the climax of my brother's challenge, and, no doubt, the demon is at this moment being forced into bondage."

Reassured by these thoughts, Tussu sprang down the steps of the cave. He tied to his belt a little sack of bread, cheese, figs and honey, and raced down the gully to meet his brother. Soon he had left the growths of rhododendron and bamboo behind him and came at length to the marsh meadow, and saw the island.

Before long, aglow with his swim from the mainland (for unaccountably the boat had been missing), he was climbing up the bank when he came upon something that halted him. Shining on

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the path was a silver ring, heavily jewelled with turquoise and coral—such a ring as he had seen once before, on the thin fingers of Lama Dorjee.

He picked it up musingly. Had the Lama paid the place a visit? That would be a good omen, surely! And he tried the ring on his little finger. The frown on his face gave way to a smile—the ring fitted.

"Ah!" he chuckled. "My brother will be congratulated on his triumph by a bejewelled dignitary. My brother will . . . my brother . . . my brother. . . ." The sentence died on his lips, for about ten yards from the jaracaranda tree he saw a young body sprawling and naked, its long hair matted with blood. The feet, in an obvious frenzy of energy, had burst their cords and lay as if kicking at some unseen enemy. The throat was torn open, and the face deeply scratched and bitten. From the flanks and thighs hung pieces of flesh. No weapons appeared to have been used, but everywhere there was the strange horseshoe mark of teeth. The body was cold. Yeshe had been dead for many hours—perhaps days.

Too shocked to weep, or even to be afraid, Tussu wound the remains in his shawl and buried them in a corner of the island.

It was nearly evening when he reached the hermitage. He rushed up the steps of the cave to find the lama.

There was no sign of him. The lamps were out. The cave had been deserted. Only the picture of Thags Yang remained. Then Tussu noticed something lying on the floor—a piece of his brother's rosary. The tiger-like trance, the missing boat, the ring—they flashed a horrible possibility through his mind: and now, the sudden desertion of the lama, and, more scaring even than the discovery of his brother's body—the rosary lying on the floor. He burst from the room with a yell; those horseshoe wounds on the body—they were the marks of human teeth.

CHINESE FILMS*

By RALPH BOND

ALTHOUGH a film industry has existed in China for the past forty years, Chinese films have never made any impression on the outside world. Very occasionally a specialised cinema would show a Chinese film as a curiosity, but in general the Western World was unaware that any Chinese films existed at all.



"The Girl with the White Hair."

To-day a remarkable transformation is taking place. China is making sound films in large numbers and of considerable quality and technical excellence. Some of these films are being shown in Europe, and one of them, *Daughters of China* has been shown at several private exhibitions in London.

I first saw *Daughters of China* at the Karlovy Vary Film Festival last year. A large audience of film directors and technicians, and journalists from all over the world gave it an enthusiastic reception.

It was a film in the epic tradition—a story of heroism during the anti-Japanese war. Villages were being burnt, and many peasants had fled to the hills to join the partisans. During the fighting a small group of women soldiers was cut off from the main army. They fought a vastly superior Japanese force until their ammunition ran out. They refused to surrender and

with their backs to a river hurled a final defiance at the enemy. Then, clasping hands, they waded into the river and were drowned.

The impact of the film is shattering. It has a poignancy and a simple faith that make any technical faults seem trivial and unimportant. Here is no studio artifice, but sincerity and integrity of a high order.

However, we thought, perhaps *Daughters of China* is a freak, an accident. But not so, for at the same Festival this year four new Chinese films were presented and we realised that the film industry of the New China is already a force to be reckoned with.

Before describing these new films, it may be useful to sketch in the background of China's film history.

American and other Western films first appeared in the country in 1904, and it was not long before Chinese and American business men were promoting companies for the production of national films. Between 1915 and 1931 three hundred films were produced, most of them from studios in Hong Kong and Shanghai. The majority of the stories were banal and trashy, but they made profits for their backers.

Gradually the more enlightened elements among the Chinese film technicians endeavoured to form a new cultural movement, and succeeded in producing a number of films conforming to the national revolutionary spirit. These technicians were profoundly influenced by Eisenstein's *Potemkin* which reached China in 1926 and when the Japanese invaded China's North-Eastern Provinces in 1931 many film workers joined the popular resistance movement.

The new films met with a warm response from the public. *Song of the Fisherman*, an outstanding film of that period won a prize at the 1934 Russian Film Festival. Some idea of the themes of these films can be obtained from their titles—*New Women*, *The March of the Youths*, *Goddess of Liberty* and *At the Crossroads*.

In 1937 all the progressive film workers volunteered for war work against the Japanese invasion and films became a vital cultural weapon. Films with such titles as *In Defence of our Land*, *Baptism of Fire*, and *Long live the Nation* were made. Yenian became a new film centre for these artists. A studio was improvised and in the Spring of 1939 the documentary film *Yenan and the 8th Route Army* was released.

With the defeat of Japan in 1945, Shanghai, Nanking and Changchun again became film production centres. Hollywood films once more poured into the country and the old-established film companies, were taken over by the Kuomintang. But many progressive films were still made, among them *The River Flows East*, contrasting the corrupt life of the Kuomintang officials with the self-sacrifice of the ordinary people. Another popular film was *The Peasant Hsiang Lin's Wife* which depicted the wretched life of women under the old regime. A Chinese version of Gorky's *Lower Depths* was also made.

With the final victory of the Peoples Liberation Army, conditions were rapidly created for the development of a large-scale Chinese film industry. The new Government took over many of the old private companies, including the Central Motion

*For the facts on the historical development of the Chinese film industry I am much indebted to Mr. Tsai Chu-Sheng, head of the Art Committee of the Bureau of Cinematographic Art.

Picture Co. of Peking and the Changchun Film Co. in Manchuria. In Shanghai, five Kuomintang companies were made public property and amalgamated into the New Shanghai Film Production Company. Not all film production is nationalised—there is a mixture of State and private enterprise—but it is all closely related to the cultural and political life of the nation. For this purpose a Bureau of Cinematographic Art has been established, which functions through the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

The rapid advance that has been made can be seen from the fact that whereas in 1948 only a handful of documentaries were made, by 1950 output had increased to 76 feature films as well as documentaries and newsreels. In the same year 43 Soviet films were dubbed into the Chinese language and widely released.

The plan for 1951 provides for fewer feature films, as more emphasis will be placed on quality but even so it is anticipated that 27 full length feature films, 17 documentaries and 48 newsreels will be produced this year. Over 3,000 film technicians of all grades are employed in the three State-owned studios in Peking, Shanghai and Manchuria.

If *Daughters of China* created a sensation in 1950 a new word would be needed to describe the effect of *The Steeled Fighters* on the audience at the Karlovy Vary Festival this year. Its theme is similar to that of the earlier film but the advance in story construction, technique and acting is quite remarkable. Like many of the new Chinese films, it is based on a true incident of the Civil War. After the defeat of Japan, the Peoples Liberation Army was attacked by the Kuomintang armies, and in a certain small town the P.L.A. was forced to retreat. A small company of soldiers was left behind to cover the retreat. Most of them were killed and the survivors, three in number, were taken prisoner. They were inhumanly tortured but refused to betray their comrades. Two of them were killed but the third was rescued when the P.L.A. recaptured the town.

What makes this film remarkable is the burning faith which animates it. Never for a moment do we feel that we are witnessing a play performed by clever professional actors. The director, Chang Yin, who also wrote the script, fought in the P.L.A. and he has transferred his own experiences to the screen in a simple, direct manner which never seeks sensationalism but which arouses sympathy which could never be secured by fictional artifice.

In some respects, *The Steeled Fighters* resembles the early Soviet films of the 1920's but it is completely national in character and commands absolute respect in its own right. This is the director's first film. It is with considerable anticipation that one awaits his next.

The art of the film has often drawn inspiration from folk stories and popular legends. Generally they have been distorted for commercial purposes but another new Chinese film, *The Girl with the White Hair* has preserved the authentic pattern and spirit of a folk story created and recited by the Chinese peasants.

This original film tells a story of life in a village. A young girl, betrothed to a peasant boy, is forcibly abducted and taken into slavery by a rich landowner. She is abominably treated and loses all hope. Her lover tries to rescue her but fails. He escapes to join the Red Army many miles away. She, too, escapes some time later, and hides in mountain caves, living like a wild beast. The superstitious peasants regard her as a terrifying Goddess. Years later the Red Army liberates the village and frees the peasants from their feudal overlordship. The peasant boy, now a proud soldier, is reunited with the girl and they face a happy future together.

This is a true folk tale of peasant creation, full of revolu-



"Forward with a Song"

tionary romanticism. When the artists of Yenan heard of it they re-wrote it into China's first modern large-scale opera which was performed all over the country.

The film, brilliantly directed by Chang Shui-hua, has carefully preserved the original story and in his treatment he has incorporated its operatic form. At times the result is a curious, though fascinating, mixture of realism and theatricalism, but the spirit shines through. The importance of its message to the peasant masses of China is obvious, for it is a passionate exposure of village feudalism with all the poverty, oppression and mysticism that accompanies it.

Two other Chinese films demonstrate a richness and variety of theme and subject. *Onward with a Song*, directed by Wang Chia-yi is dedicated to the new enthusiasm towards labour on the part of the Chinese working class. The story takes place in a factory which has just started a new "record movement". The young workers are constantly finding ways and means of improving working methods but at first they meet with the hostility of the old workers who believe that "enough is enough" and that more will lead to unemployment. Gradually the old workers are convinced that the factories really belong to the people and that every increase in production means a better life for all.

This film is particularly interesting for the insight it provides into the lives of the Chinese working class, both in the factories and in their homes.

The fourth film, *New Heroes and Heroines* is an enthralling story of bitter guerilla warfare conducted by the Peoples Liberation Army in the Central Hopei Province during the anti-Japanese war. Its writer and director is Shi Tung-san and he has produced the story on the actual locations. As in so many of the new Chinese films one is hardly ever conscious of "acting" and considerable use is made of non-professionals. The result is great authenticity and although to Western audiences the film may at times appear too long and too slow, the total effect is overwhelming.

With such films as these the Chinese Peoples Republic has thrown out a challenge to the rest of the world. That such technically proficient and mature works of art can be produced in such a short space of time is remarkable. The future of the Chinese cinema, in this new epoch, is indeed a bright one.

ECONOMIC SECTION

The Development of Indian Shipping

An interview with Mr. M. A. MASTER, who is an authority on Indian Shipping. He had devoted over 30 years to the building up of a Merchant Navy for India and has represented India at many International Maritime Conferences. He is a member of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O., the National Harbour Board, and a Trustee of the Port of Bombay.

WITH the advent of independence, a new chapter for the speedy fulfilment of the hopes and ambitions of Indian shipping has been opened. The Government of India is determined to build up a powerful Merchant Navy adequate for India's economic needs and defence requirements.

Before the war, India had about 125,000 tons gross shipping, and the activities of this tonnage were confined to coastal waters. Since India became independent this tonnage has grown to about 375,000 tons gross. Approximately 200,000 tons of shipping carry the coastal trades and trades with adjacent countries, and about 175,000 tons of shipping operate in the overseas trades of India. Indian shipping has now established regular services between India, the U.K., Europe, the United States, the Far East and Australia.



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However, the present tonnage is not adequate to meet all the requirements of the coastal trade, which is now reserved for Indian shipping only. Indian shipowners are aware of the need for an additional 175,000 to 200,000 gross tons of shipping to meet all the requirements of the coastal trade. They are making every possible effort to acquire this tonnage so that the policy of reservation can be fully implemented.

The Government of India's shipping policy aims at attaining two million tons gross of shipping within a period of 5-7 years. The present Indian tonnage, taking tonnage under construction into account, would be about 400,000 tons gross. The immediate need of Indian shipowners, if they are to fulfil their existing commitments in overseas trades and to help the Government in implementing their policy of coastal reservation, would be to add at least 325,000 tons gross of shipping to their present tonnage, about 175,000 tons for coastal trades and about 150,000 gross tons for overseas trades.

Concerning the financing of this additional tonnage Mr. Master pointed out that the Government of India was fully alive to the situation and the Minister of State for Transport assured the shipowners only a few weeks ago that "the Government will certainly endeavour to give . . . the utmost possible help in every way in acquiring this additional tonnage." It has to be remembered that Indian shipping had to struggle for its existence for many years, and could not, therefore, build up any reserves. Its resources are limited, and cost of tonnage is very high. It has, unlike British shipping, to raise new capital even for replacement. In view of these circumstances and the existing international situation, Indian shipowners, like shipowners in other countries, need financial help. If the Government of India could secure financial assistance for Indian shipowners for this purpose from the International Bank, from the U.S. or from similar sources, just as Holland, Italy and Japan have been fortunate in so doing, the task of acquiring tonnage would become much easier than it is at present. India would need about 30 to 35 crores of rupees to acquire this additional tonnage. Indian shipowners have invested 20 crores of rupees of capital in this hazardous industry since India became independent. However, despite serious difficulties, if the Government of India were to give the topmost priority to shipping and if the shipowners were themselves to raise a part of the capital, their joint efforts would be able to find both the finance and the tonnage for the fulfilment of their immediate needs.

When asked whether, in view of the difficulties of finding Indian capital for acquiring additional tonnage he would welcome foreign capital or such proposals as were recently made by Sir William Currie, Chairman of the P. & O., to start shipping in co-operation with the British India Steam Navigation and the Government of India, Mr. Master maintained that British shipping was still dominating India's trades. From the point of view of both national economy and national defence, he was positively against participation of British shipping interests, as proposed, in the development of national shipping of India. Since Sir William Currie referred to this question in his speech last year, the consensus of opinion in India, both of Indian shipowners as well as of Indian commerce and industry, was that such participation would be detrimental to the best interests of the country. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry had, with the approval of Indian shipowners, made clear to the Government the position of the country in this matter only a few months ago. They were prepared to borrow foreign capital on fair and equitable terms to enable them to acquire the tonnage which they needed. They were, however, of the opinion that instead of allowing tonnage under the Indian flag to expand with the participation of British capital and control, as visualised in the proposal by Sir William Currie, it was in the best interests of India to carry on with the tonnage which it possessed at present. In this connection Indian shipowners were re-assured recently by the statement by the Minister of State for Transport, "that there can be no question of the Government

agreeing to any proposal or scheme for the participation of foreign capital for the development of Indian shipping which would even remotely affect the national interest adversely."

In discussing the possible effects of increased Japanese shipping activities Mr. Master pointed out that the financial assistance which Japan has been receiving from the United States will make it possible for her to put, from next March, over 16 lakhs of gross tonnage of shipping into international trade. In this connection, the Western countries controlled 80 per cent. of world tonnage, while the tonnage controlled by Asian countries was insignificant. With the gaining of independence, Asian countries like India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, would need their own shipping for shaping their own economic policy and for providing a second line for the defence of their own countries. Considering the question from this broad view-point, Mr. Master thought that the maritime countries of Asia, instead of lamenting over the development of shipping in their own region, should adopt a policy of constructive co-operation for pooling their resources and opportunities, thus developing the sea-power and maritime strength of this vital part of the globe. Maritime countries in Europe, under the leadership of British shipping, have been maintaining their hold on the international trades, not only of their own countries but also on such trades between other countries of the world. Therefore, the development of the shipping strength of Asian countries was to be welcomed.

What are the immediate problems of Indian shipping and the steps the Government contemplates taking to solve them? The Government of India is determined to place Indian shipping

effectively, efficiently and adequately on the map of the shipping of the world. They have set up a Directorate General of shipping which would deal with both problems of policy and administration as they arose from day to day. They are spending large sums of money in modernising Indian ports. They have been perfecting their machinery for the training of Indian personnel for a sea career, both for Indian seamen as well as for those who wish to become officers and engineers on merchant vessels. The Government are carrying large quantities of cargo under their control and ownership, and are extending the patronage for the carriage of these cargoes to Indian shipping in such a manner as would enable it both to expand its tonnage and run it with greater economy. The crucial problem, however, for Indian shipowners, according to Mr. Master, is to find about 30 to 35 crores of rupees to increase present tonnage by about 325,000 tons.

Unlike other countries, India has up to now been depending on her own internal resources. The Government of India, however, has assigned a very high priority to Indian shipping and has promised to explore all possible methods to help Indian shipowners to find the finance which they need. Mr. Master added that while he realised that the financial and other difficulties which lay in their path were almost insurmountable, with the Government of India putting their dynamic shipping policy into effective action and with the Indian shipowners showing greater vision, courage and faith, he had no doubt that their joint efforts would be able to find the satisfactory solution of these difficulties and that Indian shipping would be able to make substantial further progress and would come into its own in the very near future.



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A FUTURE FOR INDIAN AGRICULTURE (II)

By SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON

In the past India has exported much valuable manure that should have been kept at home. It consisted mainly of bones, fish manure, fish guano, sulphate of ammonia and oilcake. There has been a great improvement in this direction, but unfortunately cattle manure is still converted into domestic fuel, and there is no prospect of finding any suitable substitute. The industrial expansion in India, except in so far as it provides for its agricultural needs, will not solve the population problem. The ryot must be taught to grow better and more abundant crops and, by the demonstration methods already mentioned, he should be brought to realise that the use of fertilisers is the most potent way in which he can achieve this object. Nitrates in one form or another will be required in vast quantities, and until the plans for extracting them from the air in India by means of hydro-electric energy come to maturity they should be imported and finance provided to pay for them. A great extension of the *taccavi* system of short-term loans should meet the situation, and on the very large amount of floating capital involved a moderate rate of interest should not prove a burden to the cultivator or to the State. There is a good deal of experience of this system of making loans to the ryots on the security of their lands, and on the whole it has worked well. To meet the needs of the country at the present time the scale on which it has been operated should be greatly developed, and the very large funds which will be required to produce a marked improvement in the output might well be administered, at any rate in part, through the agency of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies.

The question may well be asked: Does the Government of India face the perilous situation in which the country is placed with measures adequate to deal with the now generally recognised fact that the population is obviously growing at a much greater rate than is the supply of food raised from its own soil? The short term policy is fairly obvious. It is to import grain from every available source and hope thus to stave off a serious famine such as would have occurred this year in Northern Bihar and Southern India. To this end upwards of 5 million tons of grain have been contracted for and is being landed at the ports as fast as shipping can be obtained for its transport. In this way the worst of the anticipated evils has been avoided by a heavy draft on the sterling balances. Sooner or later this invaluable nest-egg will cease to exist. When this will come about depends on world events, such as the maintenance of peace or the outbreak of war on a colossal scale. With favourable monsoons India may for some years be able to avert any catastrophic shortage of food, during which period a long-term policy, if based on sound lines and carried out with vigour and determination, may dissipate the black clouds that now loom on the horizon and herald a future

which may provide some improvement in the living conditions of its expanding millions. The discussion of this long-term policy may be said to have begun after the termination of the war, and its general features are now well known. Very briefly they may be summed up as the better utilisation of its natural resources, both from industrial and agricultural points of view, the reform of its system of land tenure and the introduction of education better suited to the needs of the people than the almost purely literate studies which have drawn the intellect of the rural areas to service in the towns. The works in progress and the plans for the future envisage a very large industrial development on modern lines based on hydro-electric energy as a source of power and as the medium by which electro-chemical products can be manufactured, as, for instance, in metallurgical operations and in the extraction of nitrogen from the air to supply a much needed fertiliser for agriculture. An internal market awaits their products, and it may be that eventually they will be found in demand in large quantities in the states of S.E. Asia. Much that is now imported will be made in the country, and there will be scope for the employment of much skilful labour in comparatively small workshops where craftsmanship will be able to play an important part. All this may be achieved in time, but it is likely to take a long time, and will have no visible effect in increasing the ratio of the industrial population to those working on the land. To-day the rural areas support seven-eighths of the people, and if every year sees an increase of 5 million in the number, merely to maintain the present ratio would involve an increase of over 600,000 to those employed in industry, the possibility of which it is difficult to contemplate. What would happen if there were a third world war none can predict, except a certain catastrophic deterioration of living conditions all over the densely populated regions of Eastern and South-Eastern Asia, in which half the inhabitants of the world would be involved. It is only in a future of prolonged peace that the present efforts to control the poverty of the backward races can hope to succeed, and they must be based on the better use of the land. There is progress in that direction, but it is lamentably slow and unable to cope with the situation. The remedies are apparent to all who have seriously studied the ways in which action should be taken to reach a solution eventually, and they are more or less common knowledge. An ignorant and, in the main, an inert and inexperienced democracy is not an efficient agency to carry out such plans, and much as we may regret it, a benevolent and at the same time ruthless autocracy appears to be the only means by which prejudices may be overcome and mediaeval practices abolished in favour of modern methods, so that the land may be worked in such a way that its maximum capacity to yield produce may be obtained. Roughly speaking, the soil can be made to produce twice as much as current practice affords, and that means that it could support a large increase in its population on a very much better standard of nourishment. It seems practically certain that a really democratic form of government is unsuited to the conditions which now prevail in India, and that the measures necessary to solve the problems which must be faced will only be carried out by some form of administration not dependent on the votes of an ignorant and inexperienced electorate.

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THE FURS OF ASIA

By ERIC HARDY

THE World's greatest sources of furs are North America and northern Asia, with the latter the greater of the two. Furs are largely in the class of luxury goods, but to Siberia they are almost as important as diamonds are to South Africa and fish to Greenland.

The great Russian afforestation plan which is now under way in Siberia will have the effect of increasing the production of many of her contributions to the world's fur market, but in addition to this the Soviet has for some time been experimenting in applied biology with the transplanting of valuable fur-bearing mammals to new areas, in order that they can establish themselves over a greatly extended range and increase the yield of the more profitable furs. Other experiments have made considerable progress in the "ranching" of fur-bearers to a much wider extent than the American and British hand-rearing of silver-fox and mink. The recent changes in China will probably bring Russian influence there. Japan has long practised fur-farming on a smaller scale.

Siberia is in the position of producing a third of the world's furs and the Soviet Union has almost the monopoly of some of the rarest and most valuable furs on the market. In the last twenty years thousands of musquash, arctic fox, sable, squirrel and beaver have been liberated in some five hundred different localities as part of the great acclimatising experiments now being conducted by Russian biologists. Sables and racoons, silver or blue fox and other sorts have been bred in captivity on fur-farms in Siberia. The cold weather of the Siberian winter also produces a much better pelt, with a hard-wearing pelarge or under-coat, compared with furs from more temperate lands.

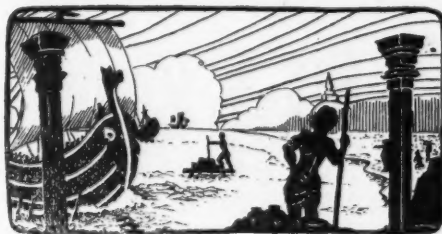
But fur-producing is not without its problems. Russia is faced with the possible over-exploitation of some of her fur-bearers which, as a consequence, might be almost exterminated. The increased world market price of seal-skins almost exterminated the fur seals of the Behring Sea, and Russian sables were also hunted and slaughtered almost to extinction point in some areas. The sable is as prolific as a ferret, but its fur is almost matchless, and the scarcer it becomes its value increases. Even fifty years ago a single skin of the best Russian sable sold for £45 on the London fur market.

The bulk of the valuable furs are trapped in Siberia north of Latitude 50°, as also are the greatest commercial quantities. Most of these furs belong to the fox and the weasel families, but there are also otters, beavers, musquash and squirrel. The true sable is a monopoly of Siberia and North China and the finest furs belong to the Okhotsk district of Siberia. Siberian mink is a different species from the American kind, but it is a true mink known to the trade as "Kolinsky." Large numbers of mink are trapped in the Kola and Yakutsk districts of Siberia and the finest pelts come from Kusnetsk. These are usually inferior to American mink, as they are orange in natural colour and have to be dyed to look like sable, a

process which weakens the wearing properties of a fur. Russia also is by far the world's greatest producer of squirrel skins.

The main source of Russian otter skins is the famous Kamschatka salmon-fishery, north of Japan. The otters here live on the sea coast and follow the migrations of Pacific salmon up the rivers to their spawning beds. But their numbers are very much less than they used to be and the animals are in danger of extinction unless rigorous conservation succeeds.

Siberian fur-farms are conducted on an extensive scale and were started before 1914. To-day they are mainly used for rearing blue arctic fox (a colour form of the white fox) and musquash. Under this system a vast and extensive range of country is enclosed, and, if necessary, a certain amount of artificial feeding and housing is provided, but the animals are not handled as in the pens of an American fox farm. When required they are caught by trapping. Musquash are successfully ranched in river swamps and marshes, and as they are very prolific and require no artificial feeding like the ranched foxes, their pelts are much cheaper to produce. Nor is any costly fencing required, as they do not usually leave the water-courses for less attractive deserts or mountains around. But some of their predatory foes have to be



From ancient days the Island of Ceylon has been known for its wealth in gems and spices, and merchants from Greece, Rome and China carried these wares to distant markets.

To-day, the chief exports are tea, rubber and coconut products. The Dominion of Ceylon, with a progressive Government in power, welcomes trade relations with merchants abroad.

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kept down. Most of this work is now organised through the great Leningrad Academy of Agricultural Science.

Rabbit-ranching for meat and pelts was commenced before the last war in large areas of Siberia, Kazakstan, Bashkiria and the North Caucasus with an annual yield of 87,000,000 pelts. The experiment of "billeting" rabbits out upon collective farms in Siberia was a failure.

Sealing in the Pacific is engaged mainly in hunting the fur-seals of the *Callorhinus* genus, notably *C. alaskanus* around the Russian Pribylov islands. Steller's sea-lion and the walrus are hunted in the Behring Sea. Some of the finest seal-skins come from the islands of northern Japan, now in Soviet hands, and the Pribylov Islands. None of the southern Pacific and southern Atlantic seal-skins can compare in quality with those from the North Pacific. Russia lost a valuable seal skin supply when she sold the Aleutian Islands to the U.S. But pelagic sealing is exterminating some of the best seals, and only rigorous conservation will save the fur seals of the Behring Sea from such a fate.

During the last war, Japan disregarded the International Fur Seal Treaty, which she signed with the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Russia in 1939 as an international agreement on seal protection and which made possible the restoration of the seal herds in the North Pacific. Born on the islands off the north-east Asiatic coast in summer, the young seals wander in winter as far south as south Japan. Russia retained sealing rights off the Pribylov and Aleutian Islands after the sale of Alaska to the U.S., but these rights were not always conceded by other interested nations.

For some time the United States Department of Fisheries' hunters have been reducing the numbers of hair seals in the Pacific, but until the end of the war, no effort was made to utilise their hides. It was then learned that skins properly cleaned and dried, brought three to five dollars each on the fur exchange. Hence some thousands more seals have been killed for their fur and oil.

Outside this fur trade of Siberia, northern China and Japan, the most important Asiatic fur on the world market is that of Persian lamb or Karakul sheep. In Bokhara and Tibet the Persian lambs are killed when young and the skins rolled off as quickly as possible in order to preserve the curl. This sheep has also been introduced into Israel in the hopes of developing an export trade. The karakul sheep is a breed native to Central Asia, to Bokhara in Turkestan. It is probably the most important example of a domesticated fur-bearer. The adult sheep produces a shaggy coarse fleece sold for carpet wool, but the glossy, black, curly pelt of the new-born lamb produces a market of some 50,000 pelts a year. The pelts are sold through Russia and Persia to Europe and North America, often as "broadtail" or "baby lamb." The Shiraz sheep of North Persia is an inferior variety, while Astrakhan is a longer, more open-curved Russian variety. Krimmer is a Crimean variety. The skin has to be taken off the lamb less than five days old or the curl coarsens. After six weeks it changes from fur to wool, while the best pelts come from slinks or still-born lambs. But through crossing karakul with Afghan wool-sheep and Achuri and Chulmi mutton-sheep, the quality of Persian lamb has declined in modern times.

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INDONESIA

By HOWARD FOX

AT present the Indonesian economy is in a state of transition from old to new; there is a continuous process of destruction and of growth." Thus the Indonesian Government recently described the country's economic condition, and it explains why observers differ so widely in their conclusions as to the progress (or otherwise) of the post-Dutch regime.

For good or ill the fact remains that the Indonesian Government alone is going to decide the economic pattern of the nation. As this Government sees it, the Indonesia of the colonial period bore along an extremely vulnerable economy. When independence came prosperity was wholly dependent on exports and consequently fluctuated with world market prices.

Moreover, the export products came from estates and factories almost exclusively owned by foreigners, both Western and Chinese, and the merchandising was also conducted by foreigners: "The role of the population in the process of production," declares a recently published official report, "was confined to rural activities and labour for foreign enterprise."

Since independence, the main emphasis has been upon shifting the national economy away from the former pattern and building up the economic strength of the small producers. This policy had to be applied simultaneously to the agricultural as well as the industrial field because the vast majority of the population consists of small producers, foodcrop peasants, rubber growers, etc. and people engaged in small scale industries.

The task of reshaping Indonesian economy in this way will clearly take many years, even given peace and stability in international affairs. Every effort will be made to avoid disrupting production and distribution, but here the authorities are facing, and will have to face for some time, no easy task. In all Government planning, the basic idea is that the material strength of Indonesia and its ability to resist disintegration stands or falls with the plight of the small producers.

How that policy is going to work out in practice remains to be seen. The transitional period, however, appears to those who are accustomed to the old order one of chaos and decay.

It is readily admitted by those trying to shape the transition that in many areas of the Republic production, particularly of food, falls below the needs of the people. The food situation is a crucial feature of the overall industrial picture.

A more favourable development in economic relations with foreign countries has, however, been perceptible, due to the monetary and foreign exchange measures brought in last year, and to the rise in price of export products in the world market.

Food worries apart, fears for the future of the nation's economic prospect focus upon the following ten main factors:—

1. Surplus money still in circulation, primarily owing to the financial needs of the State.
2. High internal prices.
3. Rising cost of living, in large part due to perpetual wage increases.
4. The absence of a reliable system of industrial organisation.
5. An unwieldy Governmental machine.
6. Disruption of the channels of trade at many points in the economy.
7. Poor communications.
8. Lack of normal law and order in several areas.
9. Scarcity of electric power.
10. Insufficiency of trained personnel for the export trade and the general low efficiency of labour.

The lack of adequate supplies of raw materials and the too frequent labour disputes which in most cases lead to a decline in the length of the working week, both constitute serious deterrents to progress. Many hopes are based on the purchases authorised from United States aid funds to Indonesia, under the Economic Co-operation Administration programme, amounting so far to \$7,654,000. The most recent allocation (\$1,078,000) is to be spent on sawmills to raise timber production, tools for the development of small industries, and for three fishing vessels to be used for demonstration purposes by the Government.

The sawmills (ten in number) are to be bought in the United States, the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium. Five will be set up in Government-owned teak yards, which will then be able to convert teakwood waste into high-quality shingles. The other five will be used for supplying hard and soft woods, mostly for local building industries, and will be under private ownership. Some will be allocated to areas which have at present no sawmills. The amount set aside for these sawmills includes a sum of \$134,000 for railway equipment in order to repair and extension of existing mill railways.

During the last six months the E.C.A. has authorised \$1,368,000 for Indonesian fishing development. Sixty small motor fishing boats, 15 larger boats and 100 engines are being bought from Japan, and a fishery research vessel and relevant scientific equipment costing \$243,000 have been bought from the Netherlands. To reach rich tuna fishing areas, Indonesian fishermen need larger craft, and plans are being drawn up to meet this requirement. Two 50-ton fish-carrying vessels are also to be bought from the Netherlands out of E.C.A. funds in order to transport fish from outlying areas to the larger centres of population, thus ensuring a market for catches which cannot now be sold in the cities.

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Among the smallholders' crops, copra and rubber are easily the most important. In 1937 the copra output was estimated at one million metric tons. Of this amount 560,000 tons was for export. In 1949 copra export dropped to 308,000 tons, and in 1950 it fell still further to 241,285 tons.

The output of smallholders' rubber has been far higher than pre-war. In 1950 it reached a record level of about 430,000 tons. It should be remembered, however, that production before the war was held back severely by international restrictions.

Export figures for other cash crops raised by the smallholders, involving tea, coffee, pepper and spices, indicate that the present output is fractional compared to pre-war.

Between 1946 and 1949 estate production rose, but only rubber touched 1938 levels (although here it represented only 50 per cent. of capacity owing to the international agreed restrictions). Mr. H. de Meel, writing recently in the "Far Eastern Economic Review," calculated in terms of 1938 percentages, the 1949 production of estates as compared with 1938 as follows: Palm oil, 56 per cent.; tea, 26 per cent.; tobacco, 26 per cent.; coffee, 7 per cent.; sugar, 4 per cent. The percentages for 1950 were about the same with tobacco and coffee, rising to 50 and 33 per cent. respectively.

The mining industry made better progress. By 1949, the tin output had advanced beyond the pre-war level and the petroleum tonnage had approached it. In the field of manufacturing, a rapidly developing feature of pre-war Indonesian economy, the present general level is down to some 60 per cent. of pre-war, although in some cases, notably electric light bulbs, soap, margarine, sarongs and bicycles, production has reached record figures.

It is acknowledged by the Government that the State cannot do everything and that progress in production and success in re-orientating the economy away from a mainly big-estate basis depends upon help from beyond the islands. Speaking recently on Co-operative Day, Vice-President Hatta said: "We cannot but admit that private enterprise, whether managed by foreigners or by our own compatriots, has important economic functions in Indonesia's national production." Although, he went on, an intensification of the co-operative movement would help in raising the level of welfare, the "condition of the national economy would not improve without the aid of foreign investment and technical advice."

Economic Publication

Economic Situation in Asia and the Far East

by P. S. LOKANATHAN (Executive Secretary,
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East).

Superficially indeed, the second half of 1950 and subsequent months brought a wave of prosperity to many parts of the region. But any tendency to feel exhilarated by this prosperity should be tempered by knowledge of its causes. The blunt and grimly paradoxical fact is that these improvements were based primarily on the impact of the Korean war and re-armament in other parts of the world. This can be no stable basis for the prosperity of Asia and the Far East. In addition, with inflationary pressures mounting and supply difficulties increasing, the region is already suffering from the world-wide conflict between social and economic improvement on the one hand and rearmament on the other. The deterioration in the world political situation has brought an element of uncertainty to programmes of development in

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the region and the already heavy burden of defence expenditure has tended to increase. The over-all position is thus one of grave anxiety, caused not merely by the political situation but by the inherent weakness of the economic and financial structures of countries of the region, which are always subject to the vicissitudes of external "wind and weather" without the power or means effectively to control them.

Available data indicate that the slight improvement in the per capita food supply for 1949 continued in 1950. The average caloric value of food consumption during 1950, though still below pre-war levels, has significantly increased compared with previous years. Efforts have been made by several governments to bring about an improvement in the economic conditions of the peasant cultivators by measures of agrarian reform. Agricultural policies have been more clearly formulated, and plans to enhance productivity are receiving the highest priority. Increased production of essential food crops and expansion of production of vegetables, fruits and livestock products have become the clearly defined objectives of agricultural policy in almost all E.C.A.F.E. countries as well as self-sufficiency in food wherever possible. The development programmes of all governments, involving heavy outlays on schemes of irrigation, soil reclamation, reforestation and flood control, bear witness to the concern of governments with implementing their food policies.

The region's general position in agricultural production, however, remained at a level below pre-war and,

unless effective measures are taken, is liable to undergo further deterioration. The basic needs of the peoples of the region are still inadequately met and food supplies per capita continue to be lower than before the war. Production of textiles in India, the major producing country of the area, significantly declined, both in cotton and jute; in the latter case, the decline was due to continued difficulties in the supply of raw materials. Supplies of farm machinery, which had been relatively easily available in the first part of 1950, have become more difficult to obtain because of diversion of raw materials and minerals to rearmament programmes in the supplying countries, and terms of delivery involve much longer periods than in 1949 and the first part of 1950.

As land and other natural resources are increasingly utilised, the region may have to face the more fundamental problem of insufficiency of resources in relation to the growing population but that time is yet far off. The pressing problem of to-day is more effective utilisation of available and known resources in relation to the needs of a growing population. In several countries, the earlier optimistic expectation that the population problem could be left to solve itself is giving way to studies on the relation between economic development and social and cultural factors on the one hand, and the growth of population on the other.

In 1950, exports of the E.C.A.F.E. region in terms of dollars (excluding China, British Borneo territories, Nepal and Korea) rose by 21 per cent., while imports fell by 12 per cent. (The most marked was the decline of imports from the United States, which fell by about 35 per cent.) This caused an export surplus of \$847 million as compared with an import surplus of \$800 million in 1949. The region's pre-war export surplus thus re-emerged for the first time since the war. Compared with only three out of ten countries, namely, Burma, Ceylon and Thailand, all of which had export surpluses in 1949, all E.C.A.F.E. countries except the Associated States of Indochina had export surpluses in the second half of 1950. Even allowing for price changes, the trade returns show a significant fall in the volume of imports and a rise in the volume of exports.

The trade of Japan had increased considerably in 1949, and continued to do so in 1950. Its abnormal post-war dependence on the United States for imports had also been reduced in 1949 by the restoration of certain pre-war markets and sources of supply. Japanese exports increased by 150 per cent. between 1948 and the first half of 1950, mainly because of an increase in textile exports. The Korean war gave a great impetus to Japanese exports, with the result that in 1950 there was a considerable export surplus, if imports received under United States aid are not counted. Japanese dependence on United States raw materials, at a time when export controls in the United States may reduce their availability, is liable to check Japan's expansion of production. With the possible stoppage of trade with the mainland of China, Japan's supplies of iron ore and coking coal, essential to its steel production, would also be curtailed.

DR. NAMATHAM

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ECONOMIC NOTES

Japanese Shipbuilding

According to the *Lloyd's Register Shipbuilding Returns* for the second quarter of this year, Japan had 94 merchant ships of 520,665 tons gross under construction (representing an increase of over 40,000 tons gross compared with the previous quarter). She thus occupies the second place, previously held by France, among ship-building countries.

Out of this total tonnage, 89 ships of 490,895 tons are for registration in Japan, while orders for registration are distributed as follows: 1 ship of 1,230 tons for Brazil, 1 ship of 15,500 tons for Liberia, 1 ship of 12,300 tons for Panama, and 2 ships of 740 tons for Thailand. These figures include oil tankers under construction amounting to 95,030 tons gross (66,000 tons for registration in Japan and 29,000 tons for registration abroad).

During the same period there were 345 merchant ships of 2,114,319 tons gross under construction in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, representing 39.66 per cent. of world tonnage under construction (the figures for the Soviet Union, Poland and China are not included in the *Returns*). In connection with new acquisitions of tonnage by Japan, Harley Mullion and Co. Ltd., London, write in their Market Report for the second quarter of this year: "During the past quarter there has been considerable speculation as to the future policy of Japan regarding further purchases, but so far only three or four additional import and currency licences have been granted, and these in respect of vessels sold some weeks ago.

U.S. War Production Delays Deliveries of Capital Goods to Asia

Reports from various Asian countries indicate the disappointment felt over the delay in the delivery of capital goods from America caused by the priority given to American re-

armament orders. Several countries had ordered capital goods from America, and had allocated dollar currency for this purpose, since these capital goods are urgently needed for economic rehabilitation and expansion.

Concern was recently expressed by Dr. Kosasih, head of the Indonesian railway services, that the railway engines, materials for bridge construction and other goods for the rehabilitation of the railways ordered in America might be delayed. Even Japan is experiencing difficulties in getting necessary machinery. A leading Japanese industrialist (Yoshitomi Kawakami, deputy chief of the machinery division of the Dai-ichi Bussan K.K.), who recently paid an extensive visit to America, stated that in America an increasing number of orders were being placed under the Defence Production Act and, since such orders were given priority, manufacturers were not inclined to accept those Japanese orders for machinery which would conflict with domestic orders.

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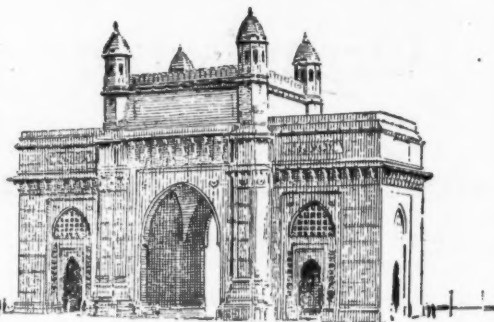
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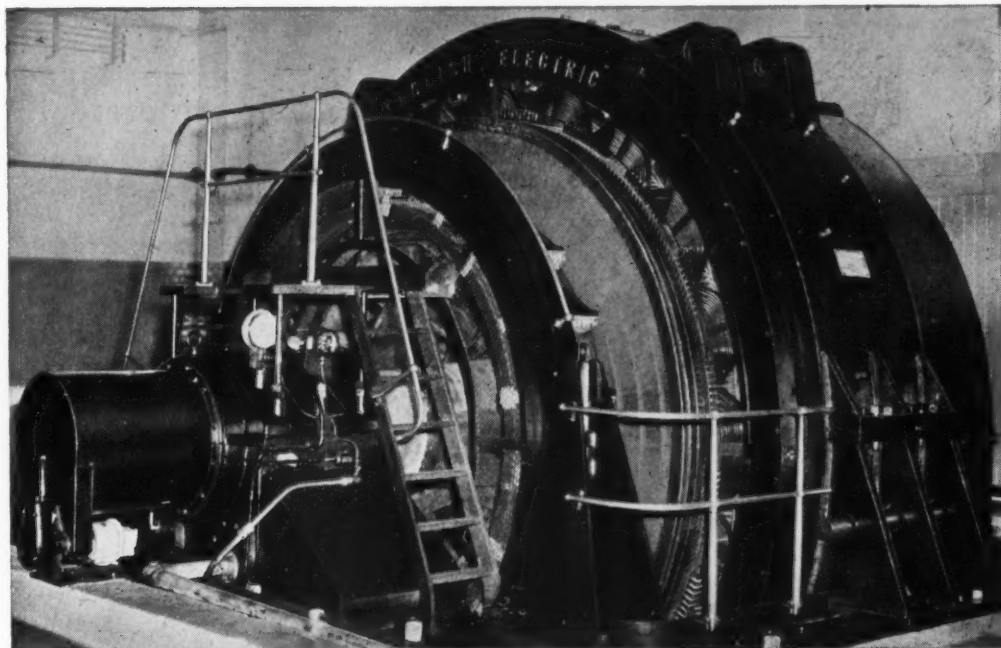
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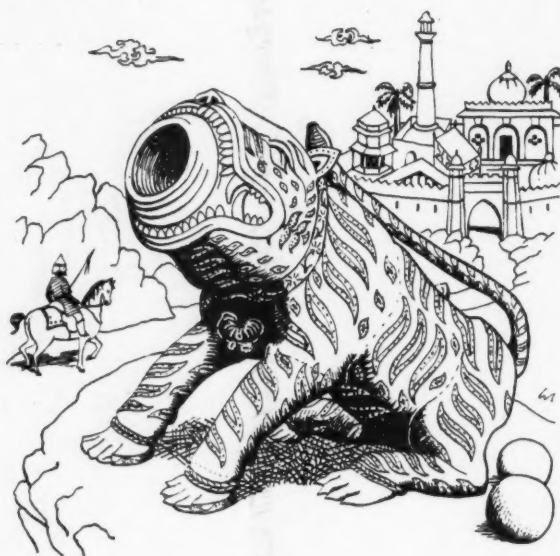
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